

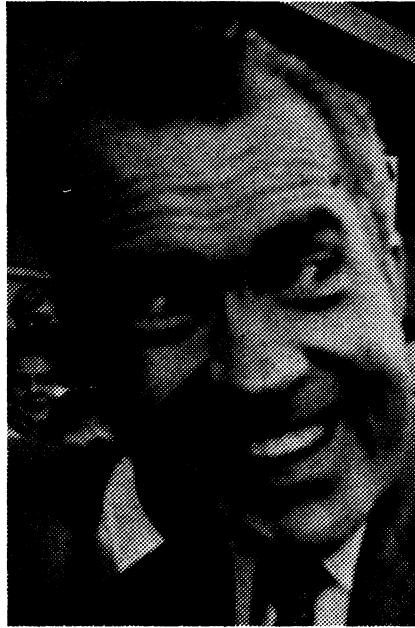
THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

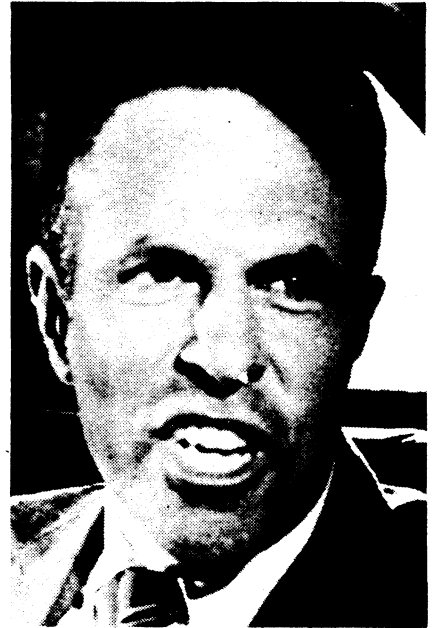
Nixon transcripts

The true face of capitalist rule exposed

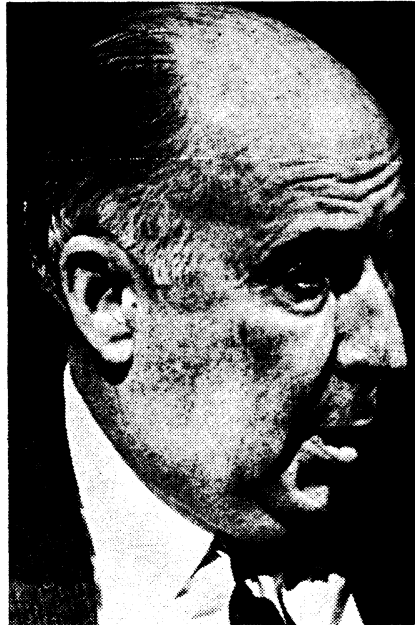
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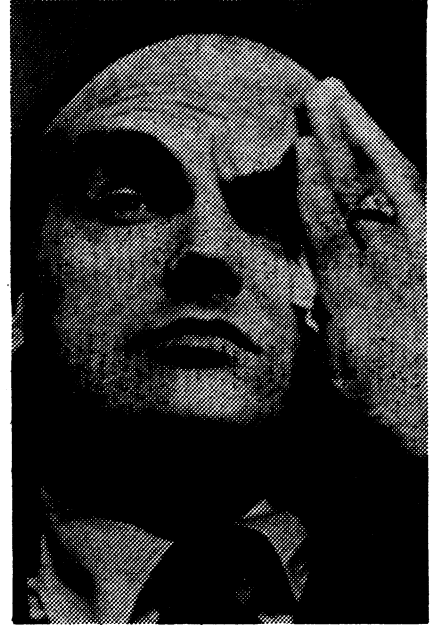
NIXON: 'Nobody is our friend'



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MITCHELL: A knife in the back



EHRICHMAN: 'Just hard line it'



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DOMINICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS ON STRIKE: May 16 is the date of elections coming up in the Dominican Republic. To assure his victory, Joaquin Balaguer, who heads the present dictatorship, has initiated a systematic campaign of repression against all opposition groups. According to Tricontinental News Service, this includes the reappearance of the infamous assassination squads.

On April 28, 150,000 people mobilized in the Dominican Republic to demand an end to the repression and the freedom of political prisoners, according to the news service.

In another development, 300 political prisoners throughout the country's prison system went on a hunger strike May 1. They are demanding their unconditional liberty and the right to return for all Dominicans forced into exile because of their opposition to the Balaguer regime and its U.S. backers.

The United Committee for Political Prisoners in the Dominican Republic has urged people to send letters of support to the hunger strikers. To do so, write El Nacional, Av. San Martin 236, Santo Domingo. Copies of these messages should be sent to the United Methodist Office of the United Nations, 777 UN Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10017.

U.S. BANS EMPLOYMENT OF FOREIGN STUDENTS: Making the hypocritical claim that its action would help young Americans, particularly minority youth and Vietnam veterans, to find jobs, the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service has ruled that foreign students will not be permitted to accept summer employment. This prohibition had already been in effect during the school term. Foreign students have to document their ability to finance themselves without employment during the academic term to obtain visas to enter the country. Before this recent decision, however, foreign students were permitted to seek summer employment.

Due to the high cost of living and rising cost of education, many of the estimated 150,000 foreign students in the U.S. have been forced to work illegally. Because of the precarious position this places them in, employers have been able to take advantage of them—paying very low wages for some of the dirtiest jobs.

This latest ruling will only compound the problems faced by foreign students.

DUKE POWER COMPANY REBUFFED BY NLRB: The United Mine Workers union has been battling the East-over Mining Company, a subsidiary of Duke Power Company, for more than 10 months. Duke Power has consistently refused to recognize the national contract of the UMW in its Brookside, Ky., coal mine.

Last November, Duke Power broke off negotiations with the UMW, claiming that the union was using "unfair labor practices." This absurd charge was based on the fact that the Brookside miners refused to accept any contract other than the UMW's national one, which 120,000 other coal miners work under.

When the UMW presented the National Labor Relations Board with the charge that Duke Power Company was bargaining in bad faith last year, the board dismissed it without a hearing. However, the company's absurd counter-charge was given a hearing last January in Harlan County.

But after hearing the testimony, the NLRB dismissed all the company's charges and essentially leveled the same charges at Duke Power. Unfortunately, this was done only rhetorically.

Nevertheless, the NLRB decision will, as UMW organizer Houston Elmore told The Militant in a phone interview, help "force Duke Power back to the negotiating table."

UFW GETS BADLY NEEDED FUNDS: A representative of the Hispanic-American Advisory Committee of the United Methodist Church presented the United Farm Workers union with a check for \$25,000 at a prayer service honoring farm workers held in Los Angeles recently. The gift was received by UFW President Cesar Chavez.

The donation is timely, as it comes on the eve of the grape harvest in Coachella. Last year the AFL-CIO executive council provided the union with \$1.6-million to conduct the grape strike. This year, while endorsing the UFW boycott, the AFL-CIO officialdom has not provided any funds needed for strike benefits.

KENTUCKYANS PROTEST RED RIVER DAM: More than 1,800 students, farmers, and environmentalists marched on Frankfort, the Kentucky state capital, April 20 to demand that Governor Wendell Ford call off a proposed Army Corps of Engineers project to dam the scenic Red River.

Having come from all over Kentucky and southern

Ohio, the protesters, organized by the Environmental Action Society, a student group at the University of Kentucky at Lexington, presented 17,500 signatures to a representative of the governor. Other groups in attendance were the Sierra Club, the Young Socialist Alliance, and Save Our Red River. The last group represents 63 families in Powell County that will lose their homes and farmlands if the dam is built.

One of the speakers at the rally following the march was Philip Lazar, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate from Ohio.

GETTING WIRETAP ORDER A CINCH: Federal and state prosecutors have found getting a court order for wiretapping and bugging a cinch in the six years since the Safe Streets Act was passed in 1968. These court-approved wiretaps have cost a total of \$16.4-million.

This information was contained in a report released May 1 by the Administrative Office of the U.S. Courts. The report contains information about the use of wiretaps in criminal cases only, since the administration's many "national security" buggings are not subject to court approval.

Every single request of the Justice Department for a wiretap warrant in 1973 was granted. State prosecutors were turned down only twice in the 866 applications they made for such orders.

Previous reports have revealed that the Justice Department has been turned down only once during the entire Nixon administration and state prosecutors not much more than that.

The permissiveness with which the courts have been handing out wiretap warrants shows that they aren't really concerned about protecting the constitutional rights of the American people.

AUSTRALIAN STUDENTS FIGHT FOR CHILD CARE: As The Militant goes to press we have received word that students of Melbourne University in Australia have occupied the university's council chambers demanding child-care facilities.

The child-care campaign has been going on for two years with pressure on the administration steadily building.

On May 7, the chancellor of the university, Professor Derham, was barricaded for seven hours in the administration building. On May 8, students occupied the council chamber, and some 150 students were still in the chamber at press time.

Police were called onto the campus on May 7 by the vice-chancellor, and 14 students were arrested on trespass charges. Part of the battle now is to have the charges dropped against those students.

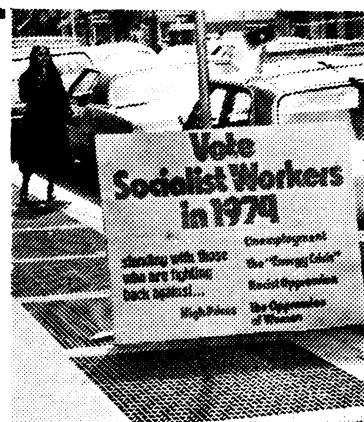
The child-care issue has been a particularly contentious one at Melbourne University because the lack of facilities has prevented many women and men from completing their courses.

The university administration has repeatedly refused to meet the demands of students for child care even though the government is willing to fund the facilities.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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The Nixon transcripts

The true face of capitalist rule

By DAVE FRANKEL

Just before Richard Nixon announced that he would make public *his version* of some of the taped conversations subpoenaed by the House Judiciary Committee, the editors of *Newsweek* came out with an impeachment story titled "Running Out of Wiggle Room?"

Then Nixon gave his April 29 TV speech promising to show "that the President has nothing to hide in this matter." The next day congressmen "lined up to praise Nixon from the floor of the House," wrote *Time*.

The *Los Angeles Times* editorialized that Nixon has "taken a giant step toward resolving the controversy over his relationship to the Watergate crimes."

Most people, however, weren't so eager to believe in Nixon. The Gallup poll found that 42 percent of those who watched Nixon on television were left with a less favorable impression of him than before, compared with 17 percent who came away with a more favorable impression.

As the public reaction came in and the politicians read the transcripts, they began climbing all over each other in the rush to dissociate themselves from Nixon. Senator Hugh Scott (R-Pa.), the Senate Republican leader and a strong Nixon supporter in the past, said May 7 that the White House transcripts portray "deplorable, disgusting, shabby, immoral performances."

"And I'd add 'shocking,'" said Senator Charles Percy, a liberal Illinois Republican.

The howl of pain that has gone up from the capitalist press and politicians is not due to the fact that they are upset over finding out about Nixon's character. They knew about that all along. Their worry is that the American people have found out.

As the *New York Times* explained May 5, Nixon "cannot long continue to follow this course without inflicting grievous harm on the office he professes to cherish."

"Nothing less than the political strength and moral prestige of the presidency are at stake."

Nixon's desperate gamble was ap-

parently prompted by the conviction that the material was going to come out anyway, and that he'd best move to make the cleanest version he could available. Approximately 1,670 deletions—nearly one for every minute of the 33 hours of conversations covered—dot the transcripts, often in strategic places. These are marked "inaudible" and "unintelligible." In addition, the rubric "material unrelated to Presidential actions" is used to justify further deletions.

Even with the 146 further deletions for "expletives" and "personal characterizations," the gang of racists in the White House wasn't able to sift all of their normal style out of the transcripts. Thus, presidential assistant John Ehrlichman, while rehearsing what to say to convince former attorney general John Mitchell to take the rap for Watergate, says:

"Far better that you should be prosecuted on information from the U. S. Attorney based on your conversation with the U. S. Attorney, than on an indictment by a grand jury of 15 blacks and 3 whites. . . ."

'Successful' editing

In other cases the editing is more successful. Thus, White House chief of staff H. R. Haldeman explained to Nixon on April 14, 1973: "That's the thing we've worried about all along, that somebody will get [unintelligible] what we do, but we can't live by whether we [unintelligible] the [unintelligible]."

"[Unintelligible]," the president replied.

Even in their bowdlerized form, the transcripts are so damaging to Nixon that the natural question is: What could have been on the "missing tapes," and on the famous tape with the 18-and-a-half-minute "gap"?

The *New York Times* pointed out May 5 that "the transcripts document a sequence—from businesslike methods to limit criminal liability for Watergate to the handful already caught, then to growing concern over those in the White House, then to further conspiracies to assuage that concern and, finally, to the falling out between Mr. Nixon and the man who had served him, John Dean."

Among the criminal violations that Nixon could be indicted for on the basis of his transcripts are: subornation (procurement or encouragement) of perjury; obstruction of justice; obstruction of criminal investigation; misprision (effort to conceal or failure to report) of a felony; conspiracy; and the use of interstate transportation to commit bribery.

At the end of his March 21, 1973, meeting with Dean and Haldeman, Nixon cries out: "What the hell does one disclose that isn't going to blow something?"

This is the government

The unanimous response of the capitalist press to the release of the transcripts has been to concentrate on their impact on the impeachment issue and on what they show about Nixon and his coterie. The corruption, cynicism, and immorality revealed in the transcripts are all portrayed as stemming from personal shortcomings of Nixon.

For example, Hugh Sidey writes in the May 13 issue of *Time*, "There may have been times over these past 200 years when a President has had dark thoughts—and perhaps questionable



NIXON & FLAG: U. S. rulers are pretending shock at true face of Nixon. But what really bothers them is what people are learning about the fraud of capitalist 'democracy.'

conversations—about how to counter his opponents and to lift himself out of crises. But there is a body of bipartisan opinion among the men around former Chief Executives that the presidency has never before experienced such a squalid episode."

But the truth is that what is revealed in the transcripts is the real face of the U. S. government.

The capitalist rulers and their agents picked Nixon to serve as president for precisely those qualities they are now pretending to be so horrified at. The president of the United States cannot be anything but a con artist without scruples.

The president must carry out policies that are against the interests of the people of the U. S. and of the whole world, while selling them as being in the interests of peace and democracy. U. S. policies in Vietnam and Cuba under Johnson and Kennedy are perfect examples.

In 1965 Lyndon Johnson secretly ordered U. S. ships to attack North Vietnam. When the Vietnamese responded to these attacks, Johnson

used the so-called Gulf of Tonkin incident as an excuse for the bombing of North Vietnam. The story given out to the American people was that a U. S. destroyer was attacked by the Vietnamese for no reason.

Was Johnson's performance any less "disgusting, shabby, immoral," or "shocking" than Nixon's? It was certainly no less bloody.

At one point in the transcripts Nixon tells John Dean: "I talked with some kid and he said I don't think that anybody incidentally would care about anybody infiltrating the peace movement that was demonstrating against the President, particularly on the war in Vietnam."

Could Lyndon Johnson have said it any differently?

Kennedy: another Nixon

John Kennedy was the first U. S. president to send troops to Vietnam. He told the American people that the brutal regime of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem was a "bastion of democracy." Later, when he got in the way, Diem

Continued on following page



John Dean preparing to testify before Senate Watergate committee.

...the Nixon transcripts: 'a blow to the

Continued from preceding page

was overthrown and murdered with Kennedy's support.

As for perjury, Nixon could have taken lessons from Kennedy. In 1961 the Kennedy administration equipped a landing force of counterrevolutionary Cubans. This American-trained force was transported by American ships to the Bay of Pigs, where it was fortunately defeated. The original plan had been to have it establish a beachhead, declare a provisional government, and then be recognized by Washington and bolstered with U. S. troops and aid.

Shortly before the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cubans exposed the whole plot in the United Nations. U. S. representative to the UN Adlai Stevenson got up and denied any such plans, with Kennedy's backing. Since the Cubans already knew all about it, the only purpose in the denial was to deceive the American people and world opinion. It hardly matters whether Kennedy told Stevenson to "stonewall it," or if he used a different formulation. The reality was the same.

This is underscored by the fact that in October 1962, Kennedy—as he said at the time and as his brother Robert Kennedy later testified—was

ready to blow up the entire world over the issue of Soviet missiles in Cuba.

John Kennedy was no more hesitant to threaten nuclear war than was Nixon 11 years later during the Mid-east crisis.

One big family

Another aspect of the transcripts is the way in which they casually bring one government official after another into the Nixon game plan. The chief executive was hardly an isolated bit of slime. Rather, he was part of a whole culture.

For instance, John Dean at one point regrets that J. Edgar Hoover is dead: "we would have been a lot better off during this whole Watergate thing if he had been alive. Because he knew how to handle that bureau—knew how to keep them in bounds."

Nixon agrees: "... He would have scared them to death. He has a file on everybody."

Later in the same conversation Nixon asks, "Do you need any I. R. S. [Internal Revenue Service] stuff?"

Dean replies: "There is no need at this hour for anything from I. R. S., and we have a couple of sources over there that I can go to. I don't have to go around with Johnnie Walters



Haldeman (left) and Ehrlichman

or anybody, but we can get right in and get what we need."

Or, referring to Assistant Attorney General Henry Petersen, Dean says: "This Administration has made him. I don't think he has done anything improper, but he did make sure that the investigation was narrowed down

to the very, very fine criminal thing which was a break for us. There is no doubt about it."

'National security'

Perhaps the biggest fraud exposed by the Nixon transcripts is the idea that "national security" has anything to do with the peace or well-being of the American people.

"You've got to figure the lines of defenses that everybody's going to take here. . . .

"What would you say if they said, 'Did you ever do any wiretapping?'" Nixon asks Ehrlichman on March 27, 1973.

"You would say, 'Yes,'" he continues. "Then, 'Why did you do it?' You would say it was ordered on a national security basis."

Ehrlichman: "National security. We had a series of very serious national security leaks. . . . I have done some checking and I want you to get a feel for what I would say if this Hunt thing slopped over on me. . . .

"The line of response would be this as I see it. Starting back in the days when I was counsel to the President, we were very concerned with our national security leaks and we undertook at that time a whole series of steps to try and determine the source

Continued on next page

This is how the college textbooks tell it

What the American people are taught about the nature of the work the president does stands in stark contrast to what the White House transcripts reveal about the real goings-on in the Oval Office.

The myth is one of the Chief Executive, working hard ("The hardest job in the world") to protect America and advance the interests of all the people. The reality that emerges from the transcripts, however, is one of secret plots to lie, cover up the truth, and "get" White House enemies.

The patriotic garbage that passes for "political science" and "civics" in U.S. schools and universities is going to need some pretty heavy re-writing for next year's courses.

Following is one example of a description of "routine matters in the President's daily round of activities," taken from a currently used college-level textbook titled *The Politics of American Democracy*:

"In his role as head of state, the President has endless tasks to perform. He has monuments to unveil, medals to bestow, public works to dedicate. He has speeches to make. . . . He serves as Honorary President of the American Red Cross; he chips in the first dime to the March of Dimes; he tosses out the first ball of the baseball season; he memorializes Washington, Lincoln, Jackson, and Jefferson on their birthdays; he joins the children hunting Easter eggs on the White House

lawn; he chats with Indian chiefs, movie actresses, and America's Mother of the Year; he proclaims the Fourth of July, Labor Day, and Thanksgiving; he buys the first Christmas seals.

"And he struggles with a mountain of paper work, much of it before a battery of cameras. There are treaties to sign, bills to approve, bills to veto, commissions to grant, appointments to make, diplomatic reports to study, gifts to acknowledge, letters to write, budgets to revise, economic reports to digest, military reports to review, more speeches to prepare. . . .

Why, it's such a heavy load! What would we ever do without a president?

How to slip the knife in

Some friendly advice from the president

The politicians in Washington are falling all over each other, affirming right and left how shocked they are at the Nixon transcripts, and how this was a side of Nixon they had never seen.

Skepticism is in order. After all, Nixon has been known by many of these people for more than 20 years, and it doesn't take too long to figure out that somebody is a rat. In Nixon's case, it has been public knowledge for a long time.

The moral level of Nixon and his pals comes across best when they are trying to save their own skins. On March 27, 1973, Nixon, Haldeman, and Ehrlichman discuss how to limit the Watergate disclosures. One possibility is to have those already implicated take the rap. Mitchell would be "the big enchilada."

Haldeman says, "The interesting thing would be to watch Mitchell's face at the time I recommend to Magruder that he go in and ask for immunity and confess."

On April 14 Nixon learns that Hunt is ready to testify. "What do Colson et al, Colson and Shapiro, think we ought to do under these circumstances," asks Nixon. "Get busy and nail Mitchell in a hurry?"

"Yes," says Ehrlichman.

A long discussion on the best way of throwing Nixon's law partner of 20 years to the wolves ensues. John Dean is also to be axed.

As Nixon says, "Give 'em an hors d'oeuvre and maybe they won't come back for the main course. Well, out, John Dean."

The president gives his subordinates helpful advice on how to slip the knife in. Speaking of Magruder, he says:

"I would, also, though, I'd put a couple of things in and say, Jeb, let me just start here by telling you the President holds great affection for you and for your family. I was just thinking, I was thinking last night, this poor little kid."

Haldeman: "Yeah, beautiful kids."

Nixon: "Lovely wife and all the rest, it just breaks your heart. And say this, 'This is a very painful message for me to bring—I've been asked to give you, but I must do it, and it is that.' Put it right out that way. Also, I would first put that in so that he knows I have personal affection. That's the way the so-called clemency's got to be handled. Do you see, John?"

Ehrlichman: "I understand."

Haldeman: "Do the same thing with Mitchell."

Nixon: "Oh, Mitchell? Well you could say to Mitchell, I think you've got to say that this is the toughest decision he's made and it's tougher than Cambodia, May 8 and Dec. 18 [the Christmas bombing] put together. And that he just can't bring himself to talk to you about it. Just can't do it."

That night Nixon explained to Ehrlichman how to go to work on John Dean. "Well you start with the proposition, Dean, the President thinks you

have carried a tremendous load, and his affection and loyalty to you is just undiminished."

That's just how a lot of people feel about you too, Nixon. —D. F.



MITCHELL: 'The big enchilada'

sanctity of capitalist government'

of the leaks. . . .

"I would put the national security tent over this whole operation."

Nixon: "I sure would."

Ehrlichman: "And say there are a lot of things that went on in the national interest where they involved taps, they involved entry, they involved interrogation, they involved a lot of things and I don't propose to open that up to [unintelligible] just hard line it."

The real relationship between the actions of the government and "national security" is that the government does whatever it believes will best preserve and advance the interests of the tiny minority of capitalists whose interests it represents; it then puts forward the argument of national security as a justification for whatever it does.

The destruction of Vietnam, the use of spies and provocateurs against the Black movement, the antiwar move-

ment, and socialist organizations, and the maintenance of the biggest military establishment in the world are all presented to the public as things necessitated by "national security."

The real president

Contrary to the image presented in school textbooks, the Nixon transcripts show that the president of the United States does not spend time worrying about the problems of the world and the American people and trying to figure out how to run the country better. The closest Nixon comes to this image is when he is pondering when to make a television appearance on Watergate. Haldeman says, "I think you want to end the war and freeze food prices first and then do this."

Nixon spent his time in hour after hour of rambling, repetitious, incon-

clusive meetings on his Watergate problems.

During his April 14 meeting Nixon asks Ehrlichman, "What did you do?"

"Well, not much last night," admits his aide.

"You mean another subject?" asks the horrified president. "Oh, no."

Haldeman comes to the rescue: "There is no other subject!"

Ehrlichman explains he was going to write a report on Watergate, but he was interrupted by John Dean with a new "scenario" on how to get Mitchell to take responsibility for Watergate.

Cover-ups, lies, protecting himself and his position: that is the extent of Richard Nixon's vision, and it is the moral code of American capitalism that is summed up in these transcripts.

Watergate & democracy

The original Watergate revelations showing that bugging, burglary, and the use of agents provocateurs were normal tools of capitalist government, shook the belief of many people in the so-called democratic processes of American society.

Nixon and his advisers continually underestimated the impact of these revelations, especially in the aftermath of the antiwar movement and the prolonged failure of the government to end the war in Vietnam despite the overwhelming popular opposition to it.

The transcripts abound with expressions of confidence such as, "It confuses the public. The public is bored with this thing already."

As late as April 14, 1973, Haldeman said, "To folks out there just say, just give an answer and get it out of the way. That's all. They don't care."

But contrary to Haldeman, and to many liberals as well who are no less contemptuous of the capacities and intelligence of the American people, the "folks out there" did care.



J. EDGAR HOOVER: 'He would have scared them to death. He had a file on everybody.'

The release of the Nixon transcripts is a heavy blow to the sanctity of the capitalist government. The idea that people should "trust the president," that there are legitimate secrets of state that they should have no knowledge of and have no right to inquire after, and that the government is justified in doing all types of criminal things in order to "protect national security" — all these ideas are open to question.

In the next few months the politicians in Congress may decide to replace Richard Nixon with Jerry Ford. But for the American people, the important thing about Watergate and the Nixon transcripts is what has been learned about the true nature of capitalist methods of rule. The power of the truths that have been laid bare will haunt not only Nixon, but his successors as well.



U.S. soldier in Vietnam. American presidents have to be con artists in order to carry out policies, such as war in Vietnam, against will of majority.

Michigan teachers endorse socialist suit

By LEO STANFORD

Delegates to the annual convention of the Michigan Federation of Teachers, held in Detroit May 3-4, voted to endorse the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). In a resolution, which was passed overwhelmingly, the delegates further directed that the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) be asked to endorse the PRDF at its upcoming convention.

The PRDF is working to publicize and raise funds for the suit filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against Nixon and other government officials. The objective of the suit is to force a halt to government provocation, wiretapping, bugging, mail tampering, infiltration, and other Watergate-style harassment of those who protest government policies.

The suit also seeks an end to the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations, which is used as a blacklist by the government and private employers, and which is cited by the FBI and local police as justification for unconstitutional surveillance and harassment of groups such as the SWP and the YSA.

The government has already been forced to admit, as a result of preliminary legal proceedings, that it initiated a secret "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, that it has maintained "national

security electronic surveillance" on the SWP going back to 1945, and that it maintained a "mail cover" on all mail going to the SWP national office in New York.

The mail cover was exposed when a New Jersey high school student, Lori Paton, filed a suit against the government after she was subjected to an investigation by the FBI as a result of a letter sent to the SWP seeking more information for a school research project.

The Michigan teachers, in endorsing the PRDF, expressed their concern about the effects on academic freedom of the kind of surveillance Lori Paton experienced.

"As teachers," the resolution declared, "we are particularly concerned that our students and ourselves have the right and opportunity to explore different political ideas without fear of harassment or intimidation."

The resolution continued: "As trade unionists we particularly value the right of freedom of association, without which no union or political organization is free to function and therefore condemn any attempts by the government to interfere with that right. . . .

"RESOLVED: that the Michigan Federation of Teachers endorses the goals of the Political Rights Defense Fund to publicize the civil liberties issues involved in this case and to raise money

for legal expenses. . . ."

The resolution was submitted by Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers Local 2000.

The endorsement marks the first statewide union endorsement of the PRDF, although a number of individual union officials and several locals have previously done so. "This is an important breakthrough for us," Mike Arnall of the PRDF staff told *The Militant*. "We hope it will be followed up at teachers' state conventions and local meetings around the country, and we will be working to win the endorsement of the AFT at its convention this summer."

Another recent union endorsement has come from Don Stillman, editor of the *United Mine Workers Journal*. Earlier, Louis Antal, president of District 5 of the UMWA, had endorsed the work of the PRDF.

Local unions on record in support of the suit include three locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and two locals of the American Federation of Government Employees.

In another development, the PRDF announced that it has received the endorsement of two more members of the Congressional Black Caucus: Representative Parren Mitchell (D-Md.) and Representative Andrew Young (D-Ga.). This brings to five the number

of Black members of Congress who have expressed support for the case. Previously, endorsements had been received from Democratic representatives Charles Rangel, Ron Dellums, and John Conyers.

Other recent endorsers include Dave Dellinger, pacifist leader; Herbert X Blyden of the Attica Brothers Legal Defense; and Norman Dorsen of the American Civil Liberties Union.

To find out more about the suit, or to make a contribution to help cover the extremely high legal costs in the case, fill out the coupon.

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Lisbon junta tries to end 'mini-revolutions,'

From Intercontinental Press
By Michael Baumann

"One unhappy category here," reported *New York Times* correspondent Henry Giniger in a May 2 dispatch from Lisbon, "consists of Portugal's leading families, those who control industry, banking and commerce. They are saying nothing and lying low. But according to those who know them, they are watching with increasing alarm as red banners appear in the streets, hammers and sickles are sprayed on monuments, and the Communists and Socialists, who a week ago were operating clandestinely, now openly bid for political power."

The April 25 military coup provided Portuguese workers the opportunity to express their political opinions openly for the first time in nearly fifty years. The result in the tumultuous week that followed, Giniger wrote in a May 4 dispatch, was "a clear breakdown in authority, with hundreds of thousands of Portuguese rushing to assert their suddenly won freedoms."

"Workers in five key public services—the Post Office, the railways, electricity, telephones and the national airline TAP—have already ousted the top managements because they were closely connected with the old regime or appointed by it. The fear is widespread among business leaders that these 'mini-revolutions' will soon extend to the private sector."

"The state-controlled television network issued repeated warnings last night against people taking things into their own hands, and today a spokesman for the junta called on the Portuguese to go to work. The 'mini-revolutions,' he warned, could hinder



Exuberant soldiers after coup

economic development."

It is clear that the junta has far more than a threat to economic development on its mind. Direct action by the workers with a clear political focus would challenge capitalist rule in Portugal.

The junta has made it known that changes in the repressive apparatus will be kept to a minimum. While popular pressure made it necessary to announce that the secret police would be disbanded immediately, and while as many agents as could be found were jailed (largely for their own protection), the junta's program states that their function will be taken over by reorganized national and local police forces.

And most important, the army, the central pillar of reaction and bourgeois rule, remains untouched under Spínola's leadership. In addition to protecting the junta in the metropolitan center, troops are still being sent to fight in the African colonies, which Spínola has refused to grant independence.

The largest outpouring of public sentiment came on May Day, the first time since the 1920s that Portuguese workers have had the legal right to

celebrate the international working-class holiday. As an army helicopter hovered over Lisbon and watchful troops took up strategic positions in the downtown area, tens of thousands marched through the streets. More than 100,000 filed into a mass rally at the soccer stadium, reportedly the biggest political rally in the history of the country.

The wide range of political views expressed at the rally was summed up in the signs and placards the marchers carried. According to a dispatch by Miguel Acoca in the May 2 *Washington Post*, "columns representing Communists, Socialists, Liberals, and other parties streamed into the stadium with banners saying 'Thank You, Armed Forces,' 'Free Trade Unions,' 'Equality for Women,' 'Down With Capitalist Exploitation' and 'Power to the People.'"

"A significant number of signs urged independence for the territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau. . . . Many signs said 'Bring the Soldiers Back.'"

The May Day demonstration on the island of Madeira, where former dictator Marcello Caetano is being "detained" in a palace, was described as

having a "serious Marxist cast."

"The leaders of the demonstration," reported a dispatch in the May 2 *New York Times*, "appeared to be almost exclusively Marxist in political orientation, as were all the leaflets and posters passed out. Crowds were given mimeographed sheets with the words of the 'International,' the Communist anthem, and many of the banners carried past the palace bore portraits of such Communist leaders as Karl Marx and Ernesto Che Guevara. . . . No supporters of Dr. Caetano made their presence known."

In fact, many former Caetano supporters seem to have undergone rapid conversions. Now that the dictatorship has fallen, runs one popular joke, "You won't be able to buy a suit for at least two years. The tailors are busy with orders from turncoats."

Many union officials were simply thrown out before they could even attempt a quick-change of image. As of May 2, at least seven major unions had been taken over by the workers themselves. Professional associations of doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, and journalists have done the same, and the staffs of two Lisbon dailies, *A Capital* and *Diário de Lisboa*, have called in their own pages for the ouster of the old management.

A similar process took place in the universities. "The government-appointed rectors of the universities have been dismissed," reported a May 2 dispatch in the *New York Times*, "and faculties and students have been meeting to draw up new statutes that would give them a voice in running the schools."

With these vast changes under way, the junta looked to the May Day demonstrations as a major test of strength matching itself against the political forces unleashed by the coup. A change in the mood of the masses could already be detected as early as April 28, only three days after the coup, when the junta's troops fired into the air to save a number of secret police agents who had been spotted by angry crowds. That same day, Spínola sent tanks to the center of Lisbon to intimidate demonstrators.

"As the tanks moved to the plaza," Acoca reported in the April 29 *Washington Post*, "crowds did not cheer and did not offer the soldiers flowers and wine as in the past few days."

Later that day a communiqué read over the state-controlled radio station warned the nation not to be taken in



Portuguese troops continue colonial wars in Africa.

Africans: 'Will fight til our aims are achieved'

Portuguese General Spínola's proposal for a "federation" between Portugal and its African colonies has found no takers among the freedom fighters in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau.

Rosaria Tembe, a spokeswoman for Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front), said in Lusaka, Zambia, on April 28: "We are not fighting in Mozambique to become black-skinned Portuguese. We are fighting to affirm our identity. As long as our aims have not been achieved, we cannot settle down and say that victory has been won by a simple change in the government in Portugal."

While the independence movement in Angola has often been hampered by rivalry between the three different guerrilla groups in that country, all three organizations responded to the Lisbon coup in a similar manner.

On April 25, the day of the coup, Agostinho Neto, president of the MPLA

(Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), stated in Ottawa that Spínola's formula for a federation "doesn't suit us." "This coup," he said, "does not mean that we will obtain independence."

The May 2 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that the Portuguese news agency in Luanda, Angola, carried the text of a leaflet attributed to the MPLA that called on African nationalists to demonstrate in Luanda May 1 against Portuguese colonialism. The leaflet called on the population to rally and march on the governor general's palace, and ended with the slogan: "For a multiracial and independent Angola."

The May 2 *Le Monde* published a communiqué of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) that said: "UNITA, which is fighting in six of the 15 provinces of Angola, with an army of more than

4,000 guerrillas commanded by a leadership established in the very heart of the country, solemnly declares that the Angolan people have not spilled so much blood in order, once rid of colonialism, to be subjected to the neocolonialism proposed by Spínola and his friends."

Luis Cabral, the brother of Amílcar Cabral (who was assassinated in January 1973) and president of the council of state of independent Guinea-Bissau, said in a March 16 interview following the first, unsuccessful coup attempt by Spínola's forces: "We agree to negotiate at any time, with any Portuguese government. But we will negotiate in our capacity as a sovereign state, part of whose territory is still occupied illegally by the aggressive forces of a foreign country." The interview was carried in the April 1 issue of the Paris biweekly *Afrique-Asie*.



Assembly of Mozambique rebels

strikes

by those who "aim at sowing disorder and division among the Portuguese people," and called for "an atmosphere of total order and public tranquillity."

The day after May Day, a representative of the junta interviewed by the *New York Times* expressed satisfaction that the rallies and demonstrations had not gone beyond the limits set by the junta. "We are delighted," the officer serving as second-in-command of the northern region told *Times* correspondent Richard Eder. "We have staked everything on the belief that the Portuguese people can handle freedom, and yesterday they proved us right."

Much of the credit for so far preventing the masses from taking the next logical step and calling for the overthrow of the junta must go to the leadership of the Communist and Socialist parties, who have provided the Spínola regime with an indispensable left cover. From the moment the exiled leaders of both parties returned to Portugal they became cheerleaders for the junta. Instead of call-



SPINOLA: Wants leash on mass upsurge

ing for its overthrow, each tried to outbid the other in expressions of support for Spínola, limiting their reservations to the question of independence for the colonies.

A crowd of 5,000 gathered at the Lisbon railroad station April 28 to greet SP leader Mario Soares, returning after five years of exile. The scene reminded one rather naive reporter of Lenin's triumphant return to Russia in 1917 following the February revolution.

In his speech to the crowd, Soares made it plain how far from reality the "parallel" was. While Lenin had called for the overthrow of the provisional government as the first order of business, Soares declared: "Comrades, this is the time for unity and not for fighting."

The scene was repeated two days later when CP leader Alvaro Cunhal returned from twelve years in exile. "Minutes after his arrival by air from Paris," Giniger reported in the May 1 *New York Times*, "Mr. Cunhal was hoisted atop an armored personnel carrier by young army officers and from there he addressed his followers while soldiers stood guard around him."

In an open bid for a post in the Spínola regime, Cunhal declared: "The Communist party is ready to assume its responsibilities in the present political juncture." The crowd of CP supporters, understanding perfectly, shouted back, "Cunhal in the government!"

"In a display of unity," the *Times* account reported, "Mr. Soares headed a Socialist delegation that went to greet his principal rival at the airport. The two parties want to maintain unity in a popular front with the help of Christian Democrats and this aim was reflected in the repeated chant of the crowd: 'A united people will never be vanquished.'"

10,000 at Kent State memorial rally

By MELISSA SINGLER

KENT, Ohio—In a massive display of protest against the U.S. government's continuing war in Southeast Asia and its repression at home, more than 10,000 people gathered here at Kent State University May 4 for a memorial rally.

The rally marked the fourth anniversary of the May 1970 Kent and Jackson State massacres, which left four white students and two Black students dead. The antiwar upsurge in the wake of those killings eventually forced Nixon to withdraw U.S. troops from Cambodia.

The memorial rally was held on the Commons, where on May 4, 1970, a fusillade of shots from the National Guard brought death to Jeffrey Miller, Allison Krause, Sandra Scheuer, and William Schroeder.

But on this fourth anniversary, the Commons was covered with people and banners protesting the war and continued U.S. aid to puppet dictatorships in Southeast Asia. Behind the speakers stand were two huge banners that read: "Stop Nixon, End the war in Cambodia," and "End aid to Thieu and Lon Nol."

The action was called by the Indochina Peace Campaign and supported by other groups. Buses brought in participants from other cities and states.

Jane Fonda was among the featured speakers, along with Daniel Ellsberg, Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic, and Kent students wounded during the massacre.

"The reason for this rally is that the fundamental causes for the killings are still unresolved," Fonda said. "As long as the Indochina war rages . . . we as Americans have a responsibility to protest together."

Noting how the antiwar movement helped radicalize people in this country, she said, "Ron Kovic was a gung-ho Marine who re-upped twice. Ellsberg worked for Rand, and I was Barbara. I figure if we can change, anyone can change."

Fonda also spoke on the current plight of political prisoners in South Vietnam.

Alan Canfora, one of the students wounded on May 4, 1970, told the rally: "Four years ago, students on this campus and around the country

took action against the war—so the government took terrorist action against the antiwar movement."

Applause greeted Canfora's remark that after the killings, "the guardsmen claimed that students had thrown a few rocks at them. But the guardsmen provoked us. We did not provoke them."

"The head of the Guard, [former] Governor Rhodes, and Richard Nixon should be charged," he continued, "for they are the ones who are responsible."

Another Kent student addressing the rally was Dean Kahler, who was paralyzed by the Guard's bullets.

When Daniel Ellsberg made his way to the speakers stand, he was met with a standing ovation from the crowd. He spoke on the recent revelations from Nixon's transcripts, which he called "The Story of P"—"political pornography."

"I turn up here as 'Ellsberg (expletive deleted),' he said. "I hope I've earned it."

Ellsberg called the presidential transcripts the domestic equivalent of the Pentagon papers. "We've all been taught, through a succession of presidents, both Democratic and Republi-

can, that presidents are not subject to domestic law."

He pointed to the role of antiwar demonstrations like the one at Kent four years ago in thwarting the aims of the warmakers in Washington. ". . . not one of those actions was unimportant," he said.

Vietnam veteran Ron Kovic, who is paralyzed from the war, told the crowd: "For the last four years they have tried to kill the truth and desecrate human life in all of us. . . . They can wipe the pools of blood from the parking lot . . . but not the meaning of those events four years ago. . . ."

"Four years ago the president of the United States called us bums and criminals. Now the bums and criminals reside in Washington. . . ."

"Dean Kahler and I were wounded 10,000 miles apart," Kovic continued, "but our bodies will never forget. We were both shot by the same administration. This place in Kent has become a place of truth."

Other speakers included Black Georgia state legislator Julian Bond, Sothom Hing of the Khmer Residents in the U.S., and Russell Johnson of the American Friends Service Committee.



Militant/Janice Cline

Kent State Commons, scene of 1970 massacre, was covered with protesters at fourth anniversary memorial.

Ethiopian masses face repression

From Intercontinental Press

After a series of secret meetings with military officers during the last week of April, the Ethiopian government of Premier Endalkachew Makonnen began testing out a hard-line response to the continuing mass upsurge in the country.

In response to a strike by 800 postal employees, the government issued a decree banning strikes by government workers. In radio and television broadcasts April 24, the government ordered all teachers and students to return to their classes by the next day or face dismissal and expulsion. It also warned civil servants that if they did not return to work by the end of the week they would be replaced.

On April 26 Haile Selassie University was closed down and its 5,000 students were told to leave the campus. The postal workers returned to work, but hospital employees walked off their jobs. Soldiers and police loyal to the regime broke a strike at the international telecommunications center April 30 by arresting strikers and union officials.

The same evening the Defense Ministry broadcast a statement that

charged the Confederation of Ethiopian Labor Unions (CELU) with responsibility for the strikes of government employees and threatened to shut the confederation down. The CELU responded that it had not encouraged the government workers to strike, but it threatened to call another general strike if the regime moved against it.

On April 26 military and police units mutinied in Addis Ababa and arrested dozens of army and police officers and former government officials. A radio communiqué April 27 in the name of the army, air force, navy, and imperial guard announced the arrest of all the former ministers.

The broadcast also called on Ethiopians to give the new government a chance to carry out the reforms it had promised. According to the April 28-29 *Le Monde*, a "coordination committee" of the military "accused the new government of being incapable of halting the strikes and demonstrations."

"The events of the past few days lead one to believe," wrote the April 30 *Le Monde*, "that the army has decided to restore order in the country, which has been undermined by two months of crisis."

"While reaffirming their loyalty to Emperor Haile Selassie, the military leaders, bypassing the established powers, have begun to take the initiative in putting the brake on the development of anarchy."

The May 2 *Washington Post* noted that "tension eased" in Addis Ababa "as the army moved to put an end to strikes and disorders that have plagued Ethiopia for more than two months."

An April 24 Agence France-Presse dispatch by Jean-Marie Blin noted that at the same time that top military officers were holding a secret meeting to discuss the situation, crowds of strikers and students stoned the Franco-Ethiopian Gebré Mariam Lycée and Saint Mary's English School in Addis Ababa; striking rail workers were burning all trucks along the main highway between Asmara and Massawa; the ports of Assaba and Massawa were paralyzed by strikes; Ethiopia's only oil refinery, at Assab, was partially shut down; and reports flowed into the capital of strikes in the provincial capitals of Harar, Gondar, Bardar, and Diredawa.

Alioto presses 'Death Angel' plot' frame-up against Black Muslims in San Francisco

By JON OLMSTED

SAN FRANCISCO—One thousand Blacks packed into the Temple of Islam here May 5 in a show of support for the Nation of Islam in the face of a vicious frame-up attack on the Muslims by Mayor Joseph Alioto.

On May 1, seven Black men were arrested on charges of the "Zebra" killings of whites. All seven are members of the Nation of Islam. The arrests were made by more than 100 police armed with submachine guns, shotguns, and automatic rifles, who carried out a series of predawn, gestapo-style raids on several homes in the Black community.

Later that day, at a news conference covered sensationally by the media, Alioto announced that the seven Muslims were "ringleaders" of a "vicious ring of murderers called the Death Angels." This group, Alioto declared, was "dedicated to the murder and mutilation of whites and dissident Blacks."

Alioto claimed that the organization was nationwide, based in an undisclosed Midwestern city, and was responsible for more than 80 unsolved deaths in California.

"The mode of killings is by random street shooting or hacking to death with machete, cleaver, or knife," Alioto said. "Decapitation and other forms of mayhem bring special credit from the organization to the killer."

Alioto added, "Our intelligence indicates that the national leader of this organization is apparently located outside of California and that he determines the levels of promotion in the local divisions."

This fantastic story was supposedly based on a secret discussion between Alioto and an unidentified informer lured by \$30,000 in reward money.

Insufficient evidence

The flimsiness of the charges against the arrested men was dramatically proved when, 48 hours after the arrests, four of the seven were released because of insufficient evidence. The three who are still being held are charged with various counts of murder and conspiracy. They are Manuel Moore, 29; Larry Green, 22; and J.C. Simon, 29.

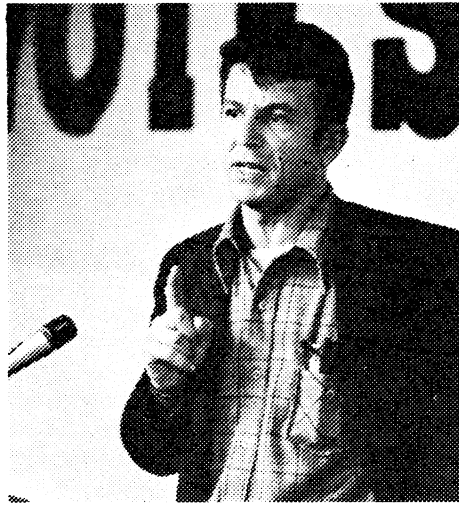
A San Francisco County grand jury is meeting to "evaluate" the evidence that Alioto has cooked up.

In describing the never-before-heard-of "Death Angels," Alioto stated that members are usually "trim and neat in appearance" and "are fanatical believers in Black separatism." This description was a blatant attempt to link the mythical "Death Angels" to the Nation of Islam.

John Muhammad, minister of the Temple of Islam Mosque Number 26 in San Francisco, immediately demanded a public apology from Alioto for his slanderous attacks on the Mus-



Nat Weinstein (right), socialist candidate for Congress, blasts frame-up engineered by Alioto (left) as 'racist scheme to terrorize Black community.'



lims. He said that the Muslims will defend the seven men "because we believe they are innocent. We don't even carry a penknife, and this the mayor knows."

At the May 5 unity meeting, the Reverend Cecil Williams, pastor of Glide Memorial Church, spoke along with a number of Muslim ministers from the Bay Area. Williams was met with a loud and enthusiastic ovation when he denounced Alioto and pledged support for the struggle against the racist attack on the Nation of Islam.

The meeting was attended by many non-Muslims, and many leaders of the Black community.

Peggy Wilson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for secretary of state, was among those attending the meeting.

Socialists denounce hoax

The Socialist Workers Party responded to the racist witch-hunt with vigorous denunciations of Alioto's attacks on the Black community. In San Francisco, SWP congressional candidate Nat Weinstein called Alioto's charges "a racist scheme to terrorize the Black community into passivity."

Olga Rodriguez, SWP candidate for governor, released a statement declaring that "Alioto's announcement that he has 'discovered' a Black terrorist ring is a transparent hoax designed to whip up racist hysteria."

Alioto's hoax about the "Death Angels" stinks so bad that even other "law enforcement" officials have felt the need to dissociate themselves from it.

Los Angeles chief of police Edward Davis—a notorious "law-and-order" cop—responded: "I never heard of any organization called the Death Angels in this city before today. And we have a pretty good ear for new names." And, the chief might have added, he also has a pretty extensive string of informers planted in the Black community.

Davis revealed that Alioto's list of unsolved murders was compiled last

October when police officials attended a meeting to discuss several unsolved slayings in the Bay Area of an allegedly racial nature.

Other names were added to the mayor's list by the San Francisco police. They culled them from newspaper accounts of various killings across the state.

Seven of the names on Alioto's list were Long Beach victims. Captain J. M. Black, chief of detectives there, said he placed little credence in Alioto's assertions.

"We haven't entirely agreed with the things Mayor Alioto has said, because we don't know if he's just trying to make up some of the political hay he's lost," the Long Beach cop said.

In Signal Hill, where the victim of another unsolved slaying was on Alioto's list, the chief of police said they were pretty certain the victim was involved in narcotics and the motive was robbery.

Even State Attorney General Evelle Younger took issue with Alioto. "We have no indication that any of the murders in San Francisco are connected with those others around the state," he said. "We have no evidence of a statewide conspiracy. We are still investigating," he added.

At the rally in the Muslim mosque, Minister Muhammad said, "The mayor is using this as a ploy to get the governorship of California and to divide the Black community."

"But he will not succeed over the body of the Muslims. The Black community will not stand for it."

Alioto's desperate ploy

The arrest of the seven Muslims came less than a week after Alioto suffered a setback when the federal courts ruled that the wholesale questioning of Black men on San Francisco streets, supposedly to track down the murderers of whites, was unconstitutional.

The court ruling followed a week of increasing protests from Black groups and others concerned with constitutional rights.

Undoubtedly a major factor in Alioto's increasingly desperate efforts to concoct a frame-up is his desire to capture the Democratic nomination for governor. Many people here believe that the racist dragnet operation was originally merely a ploy to bolster his sagging campaign with an appeal to white racist "law-and-order" voters.

When the dragnet not only failed to produce any "suspects" but was overturned by a court ruling, Alioto chose to plunge still further, desperate to find someone to pin the murders on.

He insists he will still maintain a "high police profile" in the Black community, in order to "prevent retaliation."

In her statement, socialist candidate Olga Rodriguez declared, "Alioto's 'evi-

dence' is fake, but his determination to launch a vicious campaign against Blacks is deadly serious. He has singled out the Nation of Islam as his first target, escalating a campaign that began with attacks on Muslims in Oakland and in Sacramento earlier this year."

On Jan. 26, a Nation of Islam van was stopped by the Berkeley police. The occupants were harassed and the police opened fire. Following this incident, documents from the Berkeley police department came to light instructing cops to "create cause for arrest" of members of the Nation of Islam in order to photograph and fingerprint them.

And in April, police in Sacramento carried out a raid against a Muslim mosque there.

In her statement, Rodriguez compared the "Death Angels" scare to a similar scare in Harlem more than a decade ago:

"In 1963 the *New York Times* suddenly 'discovered' a Harlem group called 'Blood Brothers,' which was described in terms almost identical to Alioto's 'Death Angels.' They tried to link Malcolm X to this imaginary organization. Eleven years and half-a-dozen trials later, no one has ever been convicted of belonging to the 'Blood Brothers,' and the police informer on whose testimony the case was based has been totally discredited."

"Like the 'Blood Brothers' scare, Alioto's 'Death Angels' story is an attempt to create a racist pogrom atmosphere—an attempt that must be exposed and fought."

Protest set for Tyrone Guyton

By JAMES LEWIS

OAKLAND—The Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton has announced plans for a May 18 protest here. Guyton, a 14-year-old Black youth, was shot in the back and killed by three cops last November.

The May 18 protest follows a series of activities sponsored by the committee to force prosecution of the three cops for murder. The racist inaction by an Alameda County grand jury and by the district attorney have sparked a major campaign by the committee to get out the truth about Guyton's murder.

The demonstration has taken on a special significance because of the rise in police harassment and intimidation of Blacks in the Bay Area.

The march will begin at 33rd and West Street at 11 a.m. in Oakland. This is the spot where Guyton's life was taken by the cops. It will proceed through the heart of the West Oakland Black community to a memorial at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park at 1 p.m.

Speaking at the rally will be Tyrone Guyton's mother, Mattie Shepherd, and other activists in the committee.

The rally has been endorsed by the Black Panther Party, Urban Pan African People's Organization, Socialist Workers Party, Black Student Alliance, Young Socialist Alliance, Merritt College Black Student Union, North Peralta Black Student Union, Berkeley city councilwoman Ying Lee Kelley, and teacher Yvonne Golden.

For further information contact the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton, 6118 E. 14th St., Oakland, Calif. 94607.



Crowd protesting 'Zebra' dragnet pursues Mayor Alioto (light suit, back to camera)

36,000 strike on May Day

Quebec labor fights for escalator clause

By TONY THOMAS

MONTREAL, Québec— Under the slogan "L'inflation, on la prend pas" ("Inflation, we won't put up with it"), tens of thousands of workers across the province of Québec went on strike and demonstrated against mounting inflation and government and corporate attacks on the labor movement. They were participants in a series of actions held on May 1, the international working-class day of solidarity.

It was estimated that 15,000 to 20,000 demonstrated against inflation in Montréal, while 15,000 to 20,000 workers marched in other parts of Québec. In addition, the trade unions reported that 36,000 workers walked off their jobs as part of the May Day actions.

These actions were part of a campaign launched at a March 23-24 conference called by the major trade unions of Québec to battle inflation.

The conference reestablished a Common Front of these three federations: the CSN (Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux—Confederation of National Trade Unions), the FTQ (Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec—Québec Federation of Labor, affiliated with the Canadian Labor Congress and the AFL-CIO), and the CEQ (Centrale de l'Enseignement du Québec—Québec Teachers Federation). The purpose of the Common Front is to fight against inflation, which has been soaring at a higher rate in Québec than in English Canada.

The central demands adopted at the conference included: 1) reopening of all union contracts to institute an escalator clause (called "indexation" in Québec) and a lump-sum catch-up payment to make up for past price rises; 2) establishment of a minimum rate of \$200 a month for all pensions and workers' compensations, and escalator clauses and catch-up payments for unemployment insurance, social welfare benefits, and family allowances; 3) a raise in the minimum wage in Québec to \$2.50 an hour.

The Common Front pledged that it would support struggles by local unions for these demands.

United Aircraft

The first major action of the Québec labor movement following the conference was a demonstration of 8,000 workers at the United Aircraft Corporation (UAC) plant at Longueuil, south of Montréal, on March 29. The demonstration was called by the CRIM (Comité Régional Intersyndical de Montréal—Montréal Regional Inter-union Committee, an ongoing local Common Front).

It was held in solidarity with the 2,000-member United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local 510, which has struck the plant since Jan. 9. The chief demands of the UAW workers were for increased union security and for an escalator clause.

In an effort to break the union, the UAC has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for goon squads, security guards, and telephone "solicitors" to intimidate the workers. On April 17, the courts fined the union \$20,000 for violating an injunction limiting union picket lines to three workers. The fight to maintain the union at UAC has become one of the major battles being fought between the trade unions and the capitalists in Québec.

In a similar show of militancy, on April 17, 3,000 city workers of the



Banner of Montreal unions' Common Front leads May Day march

Liberation/Daniel Martin

CSN demonstrated at Montréal's city hall for wage increases. The workers had rejected by a vote of 91 percent a city offer of a 6 percent raise and an additional \$135 annual bonus. Food prices alone rose more than 17 percent in 1973 and 33 percent over the past four years, so that the city's offer was clearly inadequate.

May Day

The peak of the campaign was the demonstrations and strikes that took place May 1. These actions were called by the Common Front as a show of force in support of their demands.

In addition to demonstrations and rallies, the CSN and the CRIM encouraged workers to walk out or stop work during the day. They did not call a general strike, but instead encouraged workers to walk out wherever they thought such action was possible. This call was taken up by 36,000 workers across Québec.

Hospital workers, most of whom are organized in the CSN, led the way, with more than 10,000 walking out of a dozen hospitals across Québec. This was followed by a strike and partial occupation carried out by 2,000 Radio Canada (the government-owned radio and television network) workers in Montréal. Thousands of workers and students walked out in a score of towns and cities.

The place where the shutdown was most impressive was in Joliette, an industrial town of 20,000 to 25,000 near Montréal. Joliette has been the scene of several militant strikes, including a strike at Canadian Gypsum that has been going on for more than a year.

Making defense of the Canadian Gypsum workers the center of their struggle, between 10,000 and 13,000 Joliette workers walked off the job, while more than 6,000 students and teachers left their classrooms. The town was completely shut down.

On May 1, no buses operated in Joliette and almost all shops were closed. Banks, credit unions, department stores, and even Canadian Gypsum, which has been trying to operate

without the strikers, were closed down.

The day's activities in Joliette culminated in an afternoon rally, estimated at between 1,000 and 5,000.

Montreal

More than 15,000 marched on the evening of May 1 from Laurier Park to Lafontaine Park in Montréal's working-class east end district. The marchers represented many different unions in the Common Front, including strikers from United Aircraft and COFI (Centres d'Orientation et de Formation des Immigrants—Centers for Orientation and Training for Immigrants).

Delegations were present representing students who walked out at various high schools, Cegeps (junior colleges), and universities. Other marchers represented groups fighting for the repeal of Canada's anti-abortion law and supporters of free community-controlled child-care centers.

The demonstration also had an international flavor. Scores of marchers took part in a contingent organized by the Québec-Chile Committee shouting demands linking the struggle in Québec with the struggle in Chile. Members of Montréal's large Greek community passed out leaflets attacking repression in their country. There were also contingents of Palestinian, Iranian, and other foreign students.

The march was followed by a rally in Lafontaine Park. It was addressed briefly by Louis Laberge, president of the FTQ, Yvon Charbonneau, president of the CEQ, and Marcel Pépin, president of the CSN.

Pépin pointed out that the power of the workers' demonstrations and the preceding strike by postal workers had forced the Canadian federal government to announce an immediate \$500 across-the-board raise for all public workers in Canada. Pépin also announced that Québec Premier Robert Bourassa had agreed to meet with the leaders of the Common Front to discuss the unions' demands.

Jean-Marie Gonthier, a leader of the

United Auto Workers at UAC, also spoke.

Suzanne Chartrand of the CSN spoke for the Québec-Chile Committee. She called for the reversal of the policy of the Canadian government, which has rejected the majority of refugees from military repression and terror in Chile who have attempted to enter Canada. Chartrand also announced that 23 members of the student wing of the Québec-Chile Committee had been arrested that morning.

At a news conference held the next day by the Québec-Chile Committee, the 23 were described as members and sympathizers of the GMR (Group Marxiste Révolutionnaire—Revolutionary Marxist Group, a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International). They had been arrested after occupying the Chilean consulate in Montréal to underline the necessity of solidarity with the Chilean people.

Weaknesses

The May Day march in Montréal could have been more effective if it had concentrated on a set of clear demands such as those adopted by the Common Front conference in March. Although these demands were carried by many demonstrators, the union leadership attempted to set a vague tone in the action, limiting it to a "workers holiday."

Members of the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO—Socialist Workers League, the Québec wing of the League for Socialist Action-Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, the pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International) proposed that the Montréal demonstration be centered on a few key themes, to increase its political impact. The demand for escalator clauses and support for the United Aircraft strikers were among the themes proposed by the LSO.

The union leaders rejected this approach, but nonetheless the May Day demonstrations and strikes were a sign of the growing militancy and class consciousness of workers in Québec.

Indians lose bid for dismissal of case after S. Dakota cop riot

By MARTY ANDERSON

SIOUX FALLS, S.D. — American Indians got another sample of white racist justice here last week.

Judge Joseph Bottum refused to dismiss charges against five defendants whose trial was broken up April 30 by a brutal police assault.

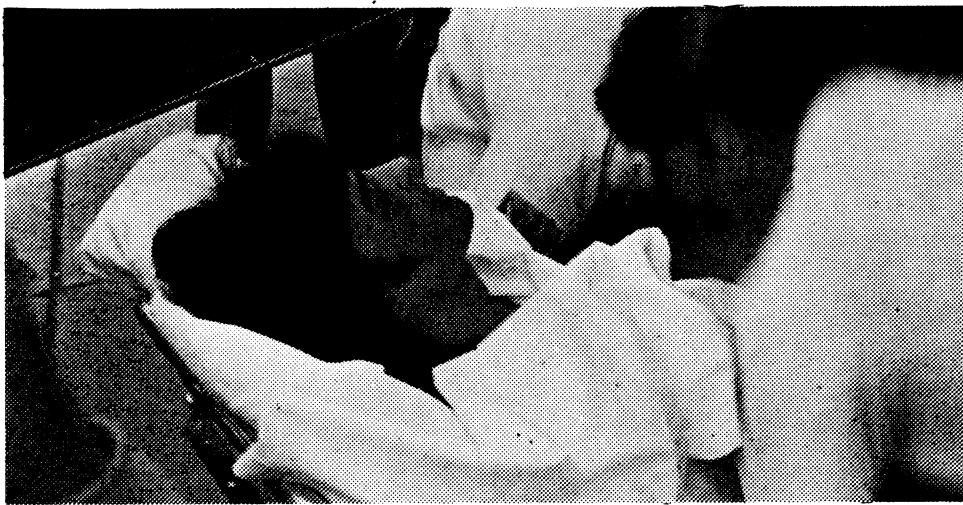
Bottum, 70, also refused to declare a mistrial or disqualify himself from the case, despite the fact that he had ordered riot police into his courtroom after Indian spectators refused to stand when he entered. Several Indians were seriously injured.

The defendants—four Indians and a white—are on trial for a demonstration that took place Feb. 6, 1973, in Custer, S.D., to protest the killing of an Indian. The protest turned into a police riot, but in its aftermath, the demonstrators rather than the cops were charged with rioting.

The state circuit courtroom was tense here May 3, as Judge Bottum arrived to deliver his decision.

One of the defendants, Dave Hill, an Indian, was carried into the courtroom on a stretcher. He had been beaten up by riot cops during last week's unprovoked assault.

Hill's face was swollen and his right eye sewed shut. When Bottum entered



Defendant Dave Hill is carried into courtroom on a stretcher

Militant/Brad Smith

the courtroom, two defense workers who refused to stand were quietly removed.

Ramon Roubideaux, a defense attorney, told the judge that the police attack had had a "chilling effect" and would prejudice the jury.

Bottum's competence to judge this case is undercut by another fact. Defense lawyer Jack Pratt observed that American Indian Movement (AIM) counsel Roubideaux will oppose Bottum in the upcoming election for circuit judge!

Bottum, nonetheless, denied all defense motions and granted a prosecution motion over defense objections that Dave Hill be severed from the case and tried later.

William Janklow, the prosecutor, made a hypocritical call for "an end to violence."

Dave Hill responded, terming Janklow's remarks "a nice speech."

"I wish you would have made it before that mob of cops came in," Hill said.

Pratt added that it was "not the defense who brought in guns and clubs," and "not the defense who initiated the violence."

Meanwhile, harassment and attacks against Indians and supporters here continue.

A Lutheran church was firebombed during the week. AIM maintains it was the act of white racists responding to certain Lutheran ministers who have vowed support to the defendants.

On May 3, one of the Indians arrested during the police assault on

the courtroom was stabbed. Fortunately, the wound was slight.

Eight AIM members have been arrested as a result of the police riot on a charge of injury to a public building—a felony. They have been arraigned and are out on bail.

Among those arrested were AIM leaders Vernon Bellecourt and Ted Means.

At a news conference, Means called for "stepping up demonstrations" to expose the racism that exists in the state.

"We experience [racism] in the courtroom," Means said, "we've experienced it in the jails, our children are experiencing it in the schools right here in Sioux Falls today. The racism is rampant."

Later that night, *The Militant* interviewed Dave Hill in his hospital bed.

Hill said that the police assault had been deliberate. No attempt was made to peacefully remove anyone from the courtroom, he said.

He also blasted the judge's decision to sever him from the case.

"If the state was interested in justice," said Hill, "they would postpone the trial until my physical condition improved."

Attorney Roubideaux agrees. He told *The Militant* that Hill's severance "would be very prejudicial" to the case.

Some 50 extra South Dakota riot police have been moved in to aid Sioux Falls cops. Helmeted police stood in the county courthouse last week, armed with long riot clubs and shotguns. No general spectators are allowed in the courtroom, only the defendants, their families, and the press.

Students confront city council over D.C. budget cut

By ANNE SPRINGER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Two hundred students from predominantly Black Federal City College marched on the city council here May 2 to demand the reinstatement of more than \$1-million cut from the college budget three weeks ago.

Chanting, "Save our school!" and "We want our money back now!" the angry demonstrators held a spirited rally at the district building.

Reginald Booker of the steering committee of the Coalition to Save FCC linked the elimination of the teachers education department to the attacks on Black education throughout the country.

The rally, chaired by Jane Joseph, was also addressed by Donald Isaacs of the African Liberation Support Committee; Harold Fisher of the Washington Teachers Union; Charles Cassell of the Organization for Political Equality Now; and Nan Bailey, mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

Walter Fauntroy (D-D.C.) had agreed to speak, but canceled at the last moment.

Bailey charged that Congress was denying adequate funds for education in D.C., while allocating millions of dollars to support racist regimes in Portugal and South Africa. She supported the call by FCC students for a march on Congress to demand adequate funds for the college.

After the rally the demonstrators surged up to the city council chambers to confront John Nevius, the city council chairman. Nevius, a white Republican appointed by Nixon, pretended he didn't know why the students were demonstrating, despite two previous marches in the last three weeks, as well as many letters, petitions, and phone calls to him.

In response to Nevius's paternalistic attitude toward them, the students called out, "We want our money back, now, that's all!"

Nevius, who had voted with the rest of the city council to cut the funds, refused to indicate whether he favored the reinstatement. After an hour of discussion with Nevius, the students voted to demand a public meeting of the city council to hear how the funds would be restored to the college. The students proposed that the meeting be May 10 at 1 p.m. Nevius agreed to call the city council members to this meeting.

The Coalition to Save FCC is organizing a large turnout of students from FCC and other Black campuses in D.C. for the May 10 meeting.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Demonstration by Federal City College students last month.

Protests hit brutal attack

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Emergency protests were held here and in South Dakota last week, following the April 30 police assault on Indians in the Sioux Falls courtroom.

About 100 demonstrators picketed the federal courthouse in St. Paul May 3, in an action called on only two days' notice.

One picket sign read: "Custer — Wounded Knee, Stop the Frame-ups."

Demonstrators chanted, "Who's Guilty? The U.S. Government!" and "Drop the charges now!" Means and Banks briefly addressed the demonstrators.

In Sioux Falls, 300 persons attended a rally near the Minnehaha County Courthouse May 1, where police had assaulted Indians in an unprovoked attack the day before.

AIM trial judge demands Nixon tape

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — President Nixon got another subpoena last week — this time from the federal court in St. Paul where the Wounded Knee trial is in progress.

Nixon was ordered to turn over any White House tapes that contain conversations he had concerning last year's seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D.

U.S. District Judge Fred Nichol, who is presiding over the trial of American Indian Movement (AIM) leaders Dennis Banks and Russell Means, signed the authorization after a request by defense attorneys.

William Kunstler, a defense attorney, told *The Militant* that the tapes may include plans for electronic surveillance at Wounded Knee last year.

Kunstler said the taped conversations may also include "exculpatory" material—that which would indicate the defendants' innocence.

The subpoena was issued May 3 after the defense produced the tran-

script of a March 22, 1973, Senate hearing on the nomination of L. Patrick Gray as FBI director.

Gray acknowledged at the hearing that he had discussed the Wounded Knee seizure with White House counsel John Dean. He said he had discussed the seizure with Dean the day before—which would have been March 21, 1973.

That's one of the dates for which Nixon recently turned over transcripts of his taped conversations to the House Judiciary Committee.

Some portions were deleted from the tape by the White House, supposedly because they did not relate to Watergate.

Kunstler told *The Militant* that Gray's conversation about Wounded Knee must have been very important, if Gray talked to Dean about it at a time when Watergate so thoroughly preoccupied the White House.

The White House must turn over

the tapes to the court in St. Paul May 28.

Earlier last week, Judge Nichol threatened again to dismiss the charges against Banks and Means when he learned that the prosecution had failed to turn over material to the defense as scheduled.

Nichol accused the FBI of deliberately holding up a statement signed by a witness.

"It is complete disrespect for this court," said Nichol. "If this is the kind of arrogance I'm faced with, there's something I can do. And one of the things is to dismiss this case."

Nichol himself is clearly on the defensive after he rejected a motion last month to dismiss the charges, despite a mountain of evidence showing government misconduct and illegal wiretaps.

Banks and Means face a trumped-up 10-count felony indictment for their leadership role in the 71-day seizure of Wounded Knee, S.D., last year.

N.Y. publishers launch offensive against printers in newspaper automation battle

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK—Shortly before 1 a.m. May 7, a photoengraved plate of a single page of the New York *Daily News* was brought into the composing room of the nation's largest circulation newspaper. Printers refused to lock up the plate and send it on to the stereotypers, and were fired.

Bertram Powers, president of New York Typographical Union No. 6 was in the composing room, seized the plate, and destroyed it. It had been produced on new, automated equipment, partly with nonunion labor. It marked the start of an attempt by the publishers here to produce newspapers without printers.

The early morning scene in the composing room of the *News* was the end of prolonged contract negotiations and the beginning of a new stage in the test of strength between the unions and publishers. The turning point came as expected and was enacted as if rehearsed. When the symbolic plate was destroyed, police entered and evicted the 200 printers who were working the night shift. Thus began a lockout of printers that may quickly spread.

Contract demands

The printers' last contract expired March 30, 1973. For the past 16 months Local 6 has been discussing contract terms with the publishers. During that time the publishers have not budged from their original offer of an annual \$13.85-a-week pay raise. They also demand a free hand to introduce computerized typesetting and other forms of automation in the composing rooms. This is the stickler that stands in the way of settlement.

Management at the *News* claims to have lost \$2-million in advertising revenue because of a 19-day slowdown by the printers that began April 18, severely reducing the size of the paper and curtailing suburban editions. The printers initiated the job action to encourage a faster pace at the negotiating table.

The *New York Times*, *Daily News*, and *New York Post*, negotiating as the Publishers Association of New York City, stand in a solid front against the union. If the *News* is unable to publish successfully, the *Times* management has announced that its presses and other equipment will be available.

Printers at the *Times* think it doubtful that the *News* can publish the huge Sunday edition on schedule. That will

be the test, they say. They are expecting transferred work from the *News*, and if that happens they will refuse to handle it.

Whether the Publishers Association is looking for an excuse to lock out the printers at all three New York papers is not yet clear. A May 8 *Times* story says the *Times* "has pledged support to The News and help, if requested, so it can get out a newspaper without the printers."

1962-63 strike

In 1962-63 the publishers in New York closed all papers for 114 days in an effort to break the back of the newspaper unions. That effort failed because the printing-trades craft unions

These unions—representing the photoengravers, stereotypers, press operators, mailers, truckers, editorial staff, and reporters—are not officially endorsing the stand of the printers.

Instead, their official position is that workers should let their conscience be their guide—each should decide individually whether to cross the printers' picket lines. This is the negation of trade unionism, which is based on the principle that workers can best defend their interests through united action.

In this case, other *News* workers who refuse to go to work do not collect strike benefits, so there is heavy economic pressure to cross the picket lines.

violating signed agreements.

This "strategy" rationalizes the divisions and weakness of the craft unions by holding out the hope that attempts to publish without printers under present circumstances will prove too expensive for the publishers.

The argument is advanced that the publishers are now "forced" to keep all other workers on the payroll, thus adding to their heavy expenses of attempting to publish under conditions that have seriously impaired their ability to produce lucrative advertisements.

Guild strike lessons

A similar "strategy" was tried and found wanting in the ineffective 17-day strike by the Newspaper Guild at the *Washington Post*. The strike ended April 24 on terms virtually the same as those originally offered by the publisher.

In that "unorthodox, picketless strike," the editorial staff and reporters attempted to force concessions by withholding "professional services" while asking printers and other employees to continue working.

The worst blow to the New York printers has been delivered by the executive council of the International Typographical Union (ITU) in Colorado Springs, Colo.

In its limited 48-page edition published May 8, the first without printers, the *News* gloats, "Parent Union Refuses to Back News Printers."

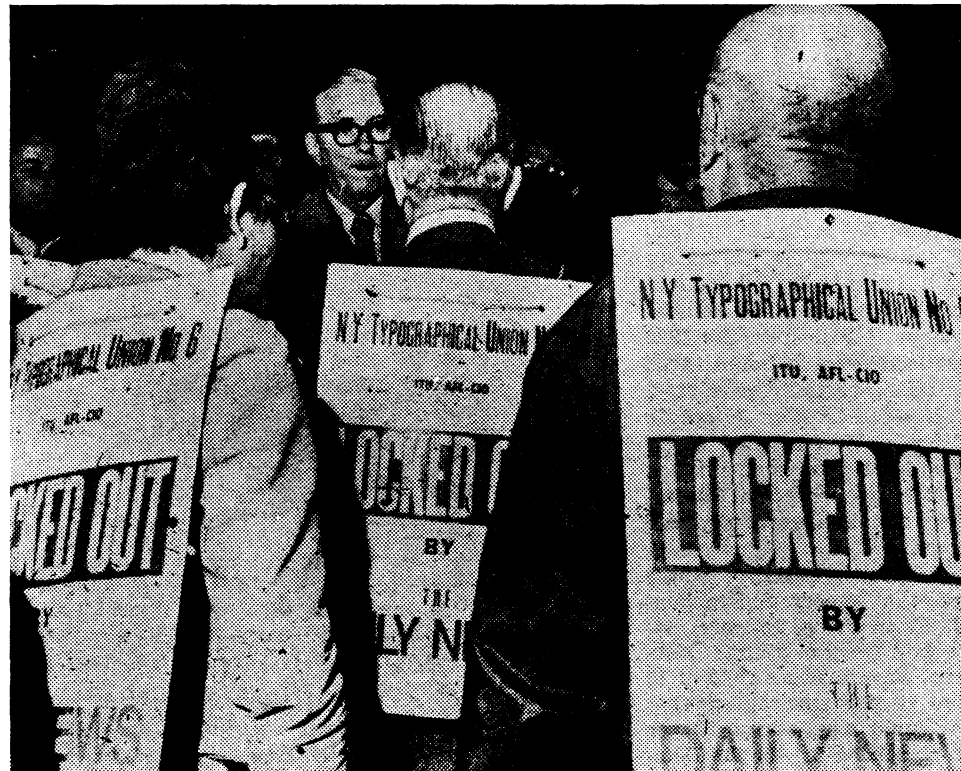
The *News* story quotes the ITU statement as follows: "After the facts relating to the remaining issues involving these negotiations and the present dispute are submitted in detail to President John J. Pilch of the International Typographical Union, the Executive Council will then determine whether a lockout should be recognized or a strike authorized."

Printers here are clinging to the hope that the ITU executive council will not allow the largest local—"the big 6"—of the printers union to be smashed.

Another hope of many printers here is that AFL-CIO Central Labor Council head Harry Van Arsdale will make good on his pledge of support.

The only other union that has refused to sign with the publishers is the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. They have as yet given no indication that they are prepared to strike, but they are expected to do so if urged by the Central Labor Council.

Continued on page 26



Printers' picket line at Daily News. At center is Bertram Powers, president of Typographical Union Local 6.

were then united in their stand against the publishers and the publishers lacked the powerful weapon of automation, which has been perfected during the past decade. This time, the publishers hope to continue operating by isolating the printers from the other craft unions.

During the months of negotiations, eight craft unions representing newspaper workers signed contracts with the publishers, accepting the wage increase of \$13.85 a week. This is about 5 percent, in conformity with guidelines laid down by Nixon's Cost of Living Council.

On May 6, the executive committee of the New York Newspaper Guild voted by a narrow 9-to-7 majority, with two abstentions, not to honor the printers' picket lines.

At a packed meeting here May 7, 1,200 Guild members from the *News* voted not to ask the executive committee to reconsider this decision. This action came after they heard a report from Local 6 President Bertram Powers, who stated that the beleaguered printers are not seeking formal endorsement and do not want other unions to jeopardize their contractual relations with the publishers by

S.F. Sears strike ends in victory for workers

By JEFF MACKLER

SAN FRANCISCO—Three hundred scabs lost their jobs May 6 as the strikers of Retail Clerks Local 1100 returned to work with a signed contract that fully maintained the dignity of their union and provided for important wage improvements.

By a vote of 231 to 11, the strikers ended their eight-and-a-half-month battle with the nation's fourth largest corporation, Sears Roebuck, on terms that few in the labor movement had thought possible.

The negotiated settlement provides for three 30-cent hourly wage increases—one for each year of the three-year contract. The new contract is retroactive to the expiration of the last Local 1100 contract, which was in August 1972. Local 1100 had worked for almost a full year without a contract before their strike began last August.

The retroactivity provision does not

apply, however, to the "big-ticket" salespeople, who constitute one-third to one-quarter of the strikers. These workers, who sell large appliances, furniture, TV sets, etc., receive the same wage increase, but it becomes effective in August 1974. That is, about three months from now. But the essential structure of the previous big-ticket contract was maintained intact despite Sear's efforts to take back key gains of past years.

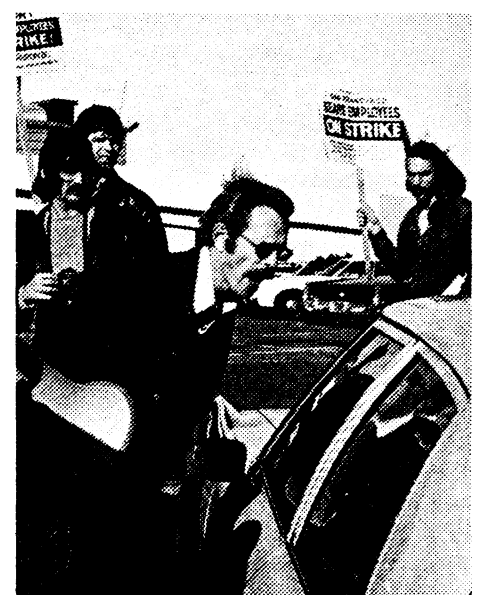
All observers agree that the big-ticket issue was the key to the entire strike. Until last week, Sears had insisted on a big-ticket proposal that would have effectively broken the union in the two San Francisco stores—the only two in the nation holding strong contracts.

The great majority of the strikers could have settled on roughly acceptable terms at the beginning of the

battle. But they continually voted to reject Sear's attempt at union busting and stuck together until an acceptable settlement was won for all Local 1100 members.

During the entire strike, only seven of 300 strikers returned to work. Seventy percent of the strikers were women, who set an example for the entire labor movement by their determination to keep the union together in the face of mounting pressure by Sears to force them back to work. In the roughest days of the strike, the women workers, constituting the lowest-paid Sears employees, voted repeatedly to maintain the solidarity of the strike.

Local 1100's victory—and it must be called that—opens up new possibilities for future organization of Sears employees in the remaining 13 Sears stores in the Bay Area.



Militant/Joseph Ryan

Mass picketing at Sears stores was one tactic used to win support for strikers' demands.

Labor got 'zapped'

Obituaries for the government's "wage-price" controls, which expired April 30 with few mourners, have been quite a bit more honest than the birth notices. When they were set up in 1971, the administration promised a fair deal to all and quick success in the "war against inflation."

But let's listen to Arnold Weber, former head of the Cost of Living Council, explain the government's real intention: "Business had been leaning on Shultz and McCracken [top Nixon economic advisers] to do something about the economy, especially wages," Weber commented a few weeks ago. "The idea of the freeze and Phase II was to zap labor, and we did."

They sure did. Prices are rising at least three times as fast as they were when controls were imposed, while workers' wage increases have been cut in half.

Since the mid-1960s the U.S. capitalists have been faced with much sharper competition for markets from Japan and the West European capitalist powers, which have substantially lower labor costs. They sought to improve their competitive position by a direct attack on the real wages of American workers, using the capitalist government as a battering ram. That was basically what controls were all about.

But having achieved their real aims with stunning success, controls became discredited and turned into a political liability. Neither Nixon nor Congress was willing to take responsibility for retaining them. For now the Cost of Living Council continues only as a "watch-dog" agency without direct wage-control authority.

The disastrous 32-month experience of "wage-price" controls holds a vital lesson for the labor movement. This wage-cutting scheme could never have succeeded without the cooperation of the top union officials. Such figures as AFL-CIO President George Meany accepted the controls and lent their authority to them by sitting on those very government boards entrusted with slashing wage settlements.

Now Meany and Company are full of militant talk about opposing wage controls and demanding big wage increases—to make up for what they've given away since 1971. But it's clear they haven't learned a thing. Construction union officials, for example, are rushing to set up voluntary "stabilization" boards that will be just as treacherous.

The panacea Meany is pushing now is the "veto-proof Congress." This simply means electing more Democrats. It ignores the fact that the Democratic-controlled Congress was initially responsible for wage-control legislation; that the Democrats as well as Republicans have pushed the attack on workers' incomes; and that Nixon's antilabor policies have had bipartisan backing.

Millions of working people have had a firsthand experience in the futility of relying on the government to control prices. Polls show that faith in the capacity of the government to improve the economic situation has fallen drastically. At the same time, the growing popularity of wage escalator clauses points to a tendency to rely on labor's own strength.

But the end of controls doesn't mean the end of government interference in collective bargaining. New attacks, perhaps in different forms, are certain. To successfully defend the workers' standard of living, the union movement will have to end the policy of cooperating with government wage-control schemes in any guise.

Quebec example

Workers in Quebec have set a powerful example for their brothers and sisters in this country. The fight against inflation was the central theme of militant May Day demonstrations involving thousands of workers. Some 36,000 workers struck for the day.

The three major trade union federations in Quebec have mapped out a united campaign to win the reopening of all contracts, lump-sum increases to make up for past losses from inflation, cost-of-living escalator clauses, a higher minimum wage, and the application of an escalator clause to the minimum wage, pensions, and other social benefits.

A number of strikes have broken out in Quebec and across Canada, with the escalator clause as a key demand.

Similar militant action is urgently needed in the U.S., where workers have suffered a 4.7 percent drop in real wages in the last year. The only effective protection against inflation is an escalator that raises wages to fully compensate for price increases—not as computed by rigged government indexes, but as determined by union-consumer price-watch committees.

Pronunciation

I'm a subscriber to the people's paper, *The Militant*, and enjoy reading it. But I have one complaint and suggestion. You see, I have great difficulty pronouncing names such as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Pyotr Grigorenko, and other names of Soviet dissidents you so often speak of in *The Militant*. I'm sure I am not alone in trying to tackle the correct pronunciation of these names.

If possible, could you add a pronunciation of the difficult names? I know for myself it would be very helpful. It can be very discouraging to have to use initials instead of full names.

*A prisoner
Kansas*

In reply—Following is the pronunciation for a few of the names of Soviet dissidents that often appear in *The Militant*:
Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn (sol-zhen-EE T-sin)
Pyotr (pee-YAW-ter) Grigorenko (gree-gor-YEN-ko)
Andrei Sakharov (SA-khar-off)
Pavel Litvinov (leet-VEEN-off)
Vyacheslav (vee-A-che-slav) Chornovil (CHOR-no-veel)
Leonid Plyushch (plee-YOU-shch)

Read and reread

I'd like to tell you that there are are about 10 dudes on the line of *The Militant*. I mean that there are 10 dudes who read it after me. So you can believe it does get read and reread. And we all appreciate it very much. Also, we have small group discussions about the articles you print. For instance, after we all read the paper we discuss different articles, and that way a person gets a broader outlook on what's happening.

*A prisoner
California*

'Expletive deleted'

Apparently the Nixon gang is bent on disproving the Marxist tenet that no class leaves the stage of history until it has exhausted all of its creative potential. As political representatives of the U.S. ruling class, they have been most inventive with language, having given us such new expressions as "inoperative," "laundered money," and "dirty tricks."

But with the publication of the expurgated White House tapes on April 30, it becomes clear that we had hitherto only seen the top of the rhetorical iceberg.

In particular, I was intrigued by the repeated occurrence of the phrase "expletive deleted." I checked the dictionary and added a new word to my personal vocabulary, to wit: "Expletive—1) an exclamatory word or phrase, esp. one that is obscene or profane; 2) a person or thing that serves as filler; one who is superfluous."

How appropriate! The euphemisms chosen by Nixon to cover up his own foul language aptly characterize his own rotten administration and the class it serves. Both are expletives, unnecessary parasites on the back of humanity, and—along with their moral, social, and linguistic obscenity—must be deleted as speedily as possible!

*Bob Cantrick
New York, N.Y.*

Congress prays

I work for a small southern New Jersey radio station. (I have the distinction of being their token woman.) Tonight I came across an announcement in our "public service announcements" notebook that reads:

"The Congress of the United States of America has proclaimed the 30th of April, 1974, as a national day of 'humiliation, fasting, and prayer.' Congress wants us to join them in a day of repentance of our national sins and to proclaim our full dependence on Him. . . ."

Imagine that! What incredible nerve! Congress wants us to share the blame for the government's crimes. And not only that, but they try to reduce their own responsibility for doing something about it by asking us to pray that God will correct the nation's ills.

This country's problems are not going to be solved by prayers. Improvement will come only when people realize that *they* have the power through mass action to take governmental power out of the hands of the rich few and put it where it belongs—in the hands of the *people*.

*Nancy Reubert
Lindenwold, N.J.*

Escalator clauses

Frank Lovell's column in the May 3 *Militant* on cost-of-living clauses in union contracts was right on the mark. He not only points to the critical need for such clauses, but also the error of tying them to the government's weak Consumer Price Index (CPI).

But there's one other shortcoming of even the best of escalator clauses that needs correcting. The auto workers have the best link to the CPI, allowing for a one-cent increase in hourly wages for each 0.35 point increase in the index. Yet this is considerably less than what is needed.

The escalator clauses should be based on the wages of the higher paid, skilled workers, which would then allow workers earning less to receive proportionately higher cost-of-living adjustments as compensation for the greater price increases in food, electricity, gasoline, and other items that constitute the greater part of their spendings. If escalators were pegged to a wage rate of \$10 per hour, it would require a one-cent increase for every 0.15 point rise in the CPI.

This should be the minimum—not one cent less! No trust in the government's CPI, either; for independent price-watch committees of unions and consumer groups!

*Walt Snyder
Albany, N.Y.*

Frank Lovell replies—Walt Snyder is certainly correct in noting the inadequacy of most escalator clauses. However, I don't think his proposed solution speaks to the key point.

Wage escalators should be geared to rising prices, not existing wages. If the cost of the working-class market basket goes up \$5 one week, then workers should receive \$5 more in their paychecks for that week. This applies to all workers regardless of their hourly pay scale.

Of course, such an escalator clause that keeps wages fully abreast of rising prices would need to be based on a more accurate index than the Labor Department provides.



FBI documents

I have read your publication for the past 14 months that I have been imprisoned and it is a good blend of forthright reporting and courage to present things as they are. No metropolitan newspaper had the guts to print the photostat copies of FBI documents you included in *The Militant*. Such factual stories permit the public interested in the truth to get to the heart of the matter.

The Militant is well received at this institution, and it is passed on and read until it gets as limp as a wet dishrag.

A prisoner
California

Haitian newspapers

The Labadie Collection of Hatcher Library has been receiving *The Militant* for quite some time, and it has always proven to be an invaluable source of information on social protest groups and movements. In the April 12, 1974, issue there was an article about a Haitian protest rally. Two Haitian groups, Le Patriote Haitien and Realites Haitiennes, were mentioned. According to the article, each group publishes a newspaper of the same name.

We are very eager to get in touch with these two groups in order to make arrangements for receiving their newspapers in our collection. We would very much appreciate your sending us an address for each of the groups.

Elaine Heumann
Ann Arbor, Mich.

In reply — The addresses you requested are:

Realites Haitiennes, P. O. Box 1202, New York, N. Y. 10027 and Le Patriote Haitien, P. O. Box 2984, New York, N. Y. 10001.

It certainly would

An article in the financial section of the *New York Times* reminded me of a point recently made by *The Militant*. According to the *Times*, Rawleigh Warner Jr., chairman of the Mobil Oil Corporation, told a New Orleans shareholders meeting, "if you take our entire profit away," gasoline would only be about two cents cheaper.

That is probably a lot of bunk, but only the inside top management knows the actual cost prices and profits.

The Militant on Feb. 8 noted that Rawleigh Warner's salary and stock options pulled him in \$389,167 and that he owned 25,450 shares of Mobil worth \$1,272,500.

But one thing is for sure:

If Mobil's profits were eliminated it would cost Rawleigh Warner Jr. one hell of a bundle.

E.S.
New York, N.Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Signs of the times

Nationalization of industry is associated with socialism — a fundamental economic and social change from the anarchy of capitalism to a rational society based on production for use instead of profit.

Socialists envisage the day when private ownership of industry will be replaced by common ownership, when a democratically constituted workers government will plan for the basic needs of the new society, when all people will produce according to their ability and the needs of each will be satisfied.

With the general breakdown of dog-eat-dog capitalist society — the growing scarcities, rising prices, unemployment, pollution, wanton squandering of natural resources, and contrived energy crises, combined with staggering corporate profits — there is a growing demand to nationalize some sectors of industry. But this is not yet accompanied by any move to replace corrupt capitalist government with a workers government that will introduce industrial democracy.

Some timid suggestions that the oil industry ought to be nationalized have come from top officials of the union movement, including AFL-CIO President George Meany, who has never been associated with socialism.

It is a curious fact that there are some now who pretend that late in life Meany has acquired an inkling of socialist ideas, and even more curious that Meany lends credence to this pretense while denying the imputation. The March 28 issue of *New America*, published by the right-wing Social Democrats, USA, carries an exchange between Meany and a reporter. The conversation took place Feb. 25, when the AFL-CIO executive council, at its winter session in Bal Harbour, Fla., was talking about nationalization and doing nothing.

Reporter: "Nationalization of the oil industry? Can you amplify that?"

Meany: "I can only amplify it by saying that you are right. We did discuss it and we will most likely be discussing it again . . ."

Reporter: "Do you believe this is a socialistic move?"

Meany: "Oh, yes, yes. It is very socialistic."

"It is socialistic like back in the '30's when we determined this country needed an airline industry and nobody could afford to support an airline in-

dustry, so the government supported an airline industry. . . .

"It is socialistic to the extent that we took away transit facilities from private interests in many of the cities of this country because we found out that the people were getting cheated and it was in the public interest to take those transit facilities away and put them under public ownership. . . .

"It is socialistic in the way that public utilities have been taken away from private enterprise and put in the hands of the municipalities, or the states or federal government.

"It is socialistic in the same way as TVA is socialistic.

"You want more examples?"

Reporter: "I didn't say. . . ."

Meany: "You know it's a funny [expletive deleted] thing that something that helps poor people, like school lunches, is socialistic. But something like several hundred million dollars for a big corporation to take it out of hock, that's not socialistic.

"We are taking public money now putting it into the railroads. We are forming a rail corporation. That's public money. That's your money and my money.

"We are giving it to a private corporation, but that's not socialistic. But to provide school lunches for children, somehow or the other that is socialistic.

"And I'm not a socialist. Or at least by definition or name, anyway."

None of this has anything to do with socialism, but it sounds as if it could have. It is a far cry from Meany's boast shortly after the AFL-CIO merger in 1955 that he had never walked a picket line in his life.

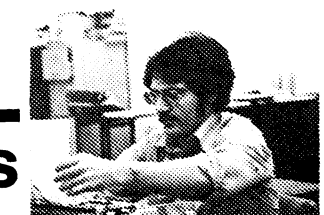
Meany hasn't changed any during the past 20 years. The times have changed. Meany and others like him talk differently to suit the times.

They are echoing the sentiments of many millions who want to curb the reckless, profit-greedy corporations.

Nationalization of industry is one of the ways to do this, if production is then put under the control of the workers. This should be one of the central aims of the union movement today.

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Obreros Unidos

In 1969, Chicano workers at the Del Monte cannery in Crystal City, Texas, began trying to organize an independent union. Teamster officials had signed a sweetheart contract with Del Monte behind the backs of the workers. A series of government maneuvers prevented the workers from holding an election. Finally, the workers voted Oct. 29, 1973. *Obreros Unidos Independientes* (United Independent Workers) won hands down. It was certified as the official collective bargaining agent by the National Labor Relations Board this past Nov. 6.

While in Crystal City recently, I spoke with union President Antonio Rios and business agent Gregoria Delgado. They told of the conditions that led the workers to discard the Teamsters.

"They used to run the union as a business, just for money, instead of helping the people," said Rios. Officers were appointed in San Antonio. Rios recalled that as a shop steward elected by the workers, he never received any cooperation from the bureaucrats in San Antonio. Rios and Delgado should know what conditions were like with the Teamsters; they have worked at Del Monte more than 15 years, since their teens.

Three-and-a-half months after being certified, *Obreros Unidos* had negotiated a new contract. "We didn't get everything we wanted," said Rios, but some improvements were made. Wages will go up 18 cents to \$2.30 an hour the first year and an additional 20 cents the second. Under the Teamsters, five cents is all the workers got in three years!

There will be more paid holidays, leaves, and a credit union too, now that the workers have begun to take part in negotiating their own contract.

An important victory was the establishment of a

day-care center paid for by the company. There was strong pressure for this, Delgado explained, because during the peak spinach season, women make up 60 percent of the work force.

Many unorganized Chicano workers in south Texas have heard about *Obreros Unidos*. And workers in several areas trying to organize unions in their workplaces have turned to the independent union for help in recent months.

Garment workers in Carrizo Springs, which is 10 miles from *Cristal*, formed a committee to press forward some grievances and to start organizing a union at the Carrizo Manufacturing Company. The company, trying to appease the workers, raised wages by 20 cents to \$1.80 an hour, and threw in Christmas as a paid holiday. And then they fired six members of the committee. The workers are filing a complaint with the NLRB to protest the firings and other illegal antiunion intimidation that has taken place.

Cafeteria workers in San Marcos, near San Antonio, and garment workers in Eagle Pass have expressed an interest in *Obreros Unidos*. Even workers in Piedras Negras, just across the border from Eagle Pass, have contacted the union. Many of the plants in Piedras Negras are Yankee-owned outfits set up to take advantage of lower wages prevailing in Mexico.

With its limited resources, *Obreros Unidos* can't aid all these organizing efforts. But with help from Texas Raza Unida Party activists and other supporters, this fledgling union could give a real impetus to the struggle to unionize predominantly Chicano south Texas.

Gaullists suffer defeat in French elections

By CAROLINE LUND

The results of the May 5 election in France put the last nail in the coffin of the Gaullist coalition that has ruled the country since 1958. With an unusually high voter turnout of 85 percent, Union of the Left candidate François Mitterrand received a plurality of 43 percent. Runner-up was conservative Finance Minister Valéry Giscard d'Estaing of the Independent Republican Party, with nearly 33 percent.

Jacques Chaban-Delmas, candidate of the Gaullist UDR (Union for the Defense of the Republic), trailed with only 14.8 percent.

The only two candidates challenging Mitterrand from the left, exposing and denouncing his class-collaborationist program, were Alain Krivine, candidate of the Revolutionary Communist Front, and Arlette Laguiller of Workers Struggle. Krivine ran against Pompidou in the 1969 presidential elections representing the Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, which was banned last year by the Pompidou regime.

According to the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Krivine polled 0.37 percent of the vote (93,662), and Laguiller received 2.35 (594,120). She was the only woman candidate.

Since no candidate won a majority of the votes, a runoff will be held

May 19 between Mitterrand and Giscard d'Estaing.

The Gaullist coalition had managed to achieve a decade of relative stability for French capitalism under the strong presidential system inaugurated in 1958. The relative calm was shattered by the revolutionary upsurge in May 1968, when millions of French workers went out on a nationwide general strike and occupied their factories.

The upsurge was defeated because of the traitorous policies of the Communist Party, but mass discontent with the government has continued to rise. Militant strikes and demonstrations by workers, as well as protests by students, farmers, women, soldiers, and other social layers, have proliferated. A major issue is the soaring inflation rate of 16 percent.

The May 5 vote represented a massive repudiation of the Gaullist heirs, who have presided over this deterioration in the living standards of the French workers and small farmers and shopkeepers.

The approach of the Communist and Socialist parties has been to try to channel the growing mass struggles into a new experiment in popular front politics through the formation of the Union of the Left, an electoral bloc between the two mass reformist parties of the French working class and a small split-off from the bourgeois

Radical Party.

Mitterrand is formally the candidate of the Socialist Party. But the real meaning of his candidacy is reflected in the fact that he is the common candidate of the Union of the Left.

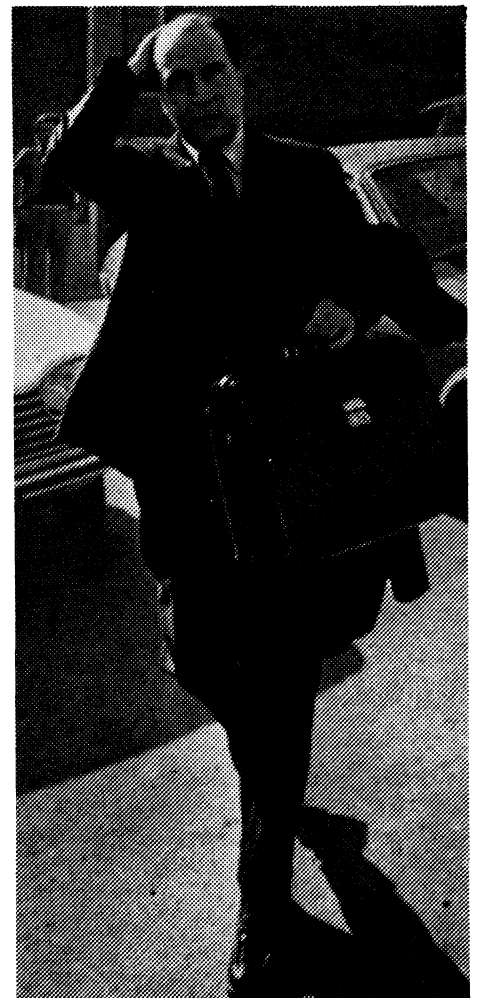
There are many illusions in the French working class about the Mitterrand candidacy. The fact that he is supported by the two large reformist parties of the French working class, and formally endorsed by the large trade-union federations, has led many to view Mitterrand as the candidate of a united front of the workers organizations.

In reality his campaign represents the polar opposite of a class united front. It is a class-collaborationist popular front that is being born.

In his campaign speeches, Mitterrand has tried to assure the capitalists that as president he would "maintain social peace." He has pledged that he and his labor supporters would "discuss among ourselves and make each other understand the sacrifices we must make." In plainer language, Mitterrand would tell the workers to stop striking and keep sacrificing—to maintain capitalist rule in France.

If Mitterrand is elected in the second round, he is pledged to form a popular front-type government, drawing ministers from the SP, CP, and Left

Continued on page 26



MITTERRAND: Candidate of 'left' tells workers to sacrifice.

1,000 rally for civil rights for gays in New York

NEW YORK—One thousand people rallied in Sheridan Square here May 4 to demand the passage of Intro 2, a gay civil rights bill. The bill is scheduled to come up for a vote in the city council, after being bottled up in committee for more than three years.

The action was called on short notice by a broad coalition of gay groups and others supporting passage of Intro 2 in response to a right-wing threat to the civil rights legislation.

The leadership of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association had called a highly publicized "mass rally" at

city hall for April 30 in opposition to Intro 2, though a rally was not held for lack of participants.

The rightist campaign provided a pretense for several Democratic Party councilmen to back away from the bill. In addition to the leadership of the Uniformed Fire Officers Association, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese and the police are spearheading the antigay drive.

Speaker after speaker at the May 4 rally pointed out that Intro 2 would reiterate the right not to be discriminated against, as guaranteed by the federal Constitution.

Jeanne O'Leary of New York Lesbian Liberation pointed to the need for a united struggle and a return to the streets again and again until Intro 2 is passed.

A speaker from the National Organization for Women traced the reactionary stands of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese. She cited the Archdiocese's support for the Vietnam war policies of Johnson and Nixon and the central role the Archdiocese played in creating and leading the anti-abortion lobby. The speaker pledged NOW's continued support for Intro 2.

Others speaking or supporting the rally included a number of Democratic Party politicians, the Gay Activists Alliance, the National Gay Task Force, Gay Rights Action Coalition, Mattachine Society, Women's Political Caucus, and Socialist Workers Party.

Earlier, on April 20, 250 supporters of Intro 2 marched up Fifth Avenue from Washington Square Park to a rally in Union Square. This demonstration was called by the Gay Rights Action Coalition.

The city council is scheduled to vote on Intro 2 later this month.

Chicago's gas leak disaster: Who's to blame?

On Friday, April 26, on the Far South Side of Chicago, a storage tank began leaking its contents. In two days an estimated 100,000 gallons of silicon tetrachloride had gushed from the tank. Combining with the air's moisture, the chemical produced dense blue clouds of caustic fumes containing hydrochloric acid. The noxious gas blanket-

ed seven square miles of the nearby Black community.

The American Way of Life

The situation was worst at the Altgeld Gardens housing development. As their eyes, throats, and lungs became inflamed, people began to flee the gas cloud, telephoning police and fire departments for aid.

One person died as a result of the disaster. Scores required hospitalization. Doctors said people who breathed the fumes could expect three or four days of headaches and symptoms of a bad chest cold. Medical authorities said the fumes could have been fatal to children and persons with respiratory illnesses. Only a favorable wind averted more widespread disaster.

Where can responsibility be placed for this catastrophe?

To answer this question, we can begin by looking at how the city administration responded. A full seven hours went by before police took "action,"

by ordering 16,000 residents to evacuate their homes. People were left to find their own means of escape, however.

On April 28, when heavy rains increased the danger of a new tide of gas, Mayor Daley's response was to claim the acid fumes "are no threat at this time."

What about the company that owned the storage tanks? The Bulk Terminals Company, which stored the gas-producing chemicals, proved incapable of stopping the leak until Tuesday, April 30. They



Victims of noxious gas

didn't have an effective method of neutralizing the acid. Nor did they have an acid-resistant pump for emptying the leaking tank. Clearly, this firm did not consider it its business to include consideration of the safety of the nearby community.

What about the role of the government regulators? It happened that the Bulk tank farm had been visited only the previous day by an inspector from the state Environmental Protection Agency. However, the EPA was empowered to inspect only for unsafe loading procedures to and from the tanks, not for leaks.

State's Attorney Bernard Carey assured reporters that "if it can be proven that there was criminal negligence, a fine of \$1,000 and a sentence of up to one year in the county jail could be imposed." These are the limits of the action the government is prepared to take against those who poison an entire community!

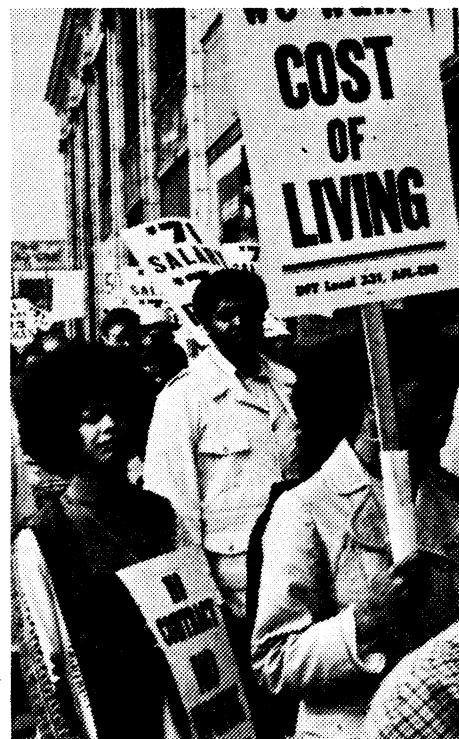
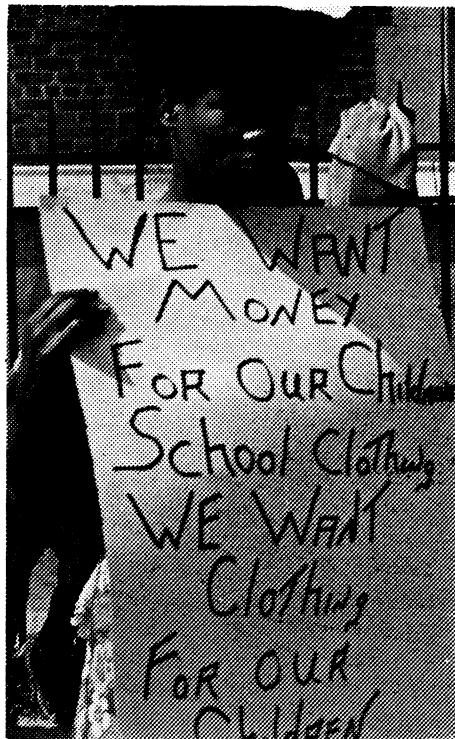
Speaking of "criminal negligence," we should begin by looking at the state government. A year ago a bill was introduced in the Illinois legislature merely requiring firms storing toxic or noxious materials to register with the state.

The bill was defeated, according to Illinois Attorney General William Scott, by "powerful business interests." These capitalist interests were so concerned about maximizing their profits that they would not concede to the public even the right to know where dangerous chemicals are being stored! These profit-mongers, and their Democratic and Republican servants in government, stand behind every instance of the negligence, callousness, and outright deception connected with the April 26 disaster.

—DAN CAINE

Calif. SWP platform

Support the 1974 Socialist Workers campaign!



Militant/Mike Kelly



Militant/Cliff Antunnes

This year the Socialist Workers Party is running more than 100 candidates for Congress and state and local offices in 15 states and the District of Columbia.

Unlike the crooked lawyers and tax-dodging millionaires who are the standard-bearers of the Democratic and Republican parties, the socialist candidates are working people who are active supporters and participants in struggles against oppression. Most important, they are running campaigns that speak to the interests of the workers, not their exploiters.

The following eight-page special feature gives a picture of the program and activities of the 1974 SWP campaigns across the country.

The first article is the recently published platform of the California Socialist Workers Party, which provides an explanation of the socialist alternative in 1974 and a comprehensive statement of the SWP's positions on the key issues. The California SWP ticket is headed by Olga Rodriguez for governor and Dan Styron for U.S. Senate.

For more information, or to find out how you can become involved in the socialist campaign effort, contact the SWP or Young Socialist Alliance in your area. Addresses are listed on page 26.

Socialists often hear the objection: "Socialism is a good idea but it's not practical—it would never work." But today it is more apparent than ever that it is the present system—capitalism—that is impractical and unworkable.

The richest nation in history has been hit with sudden shortages of basic necessities. We are living with skyrocketing prices, climbing unemployment, racism, sexism, and deterioration of the quality of life.

Democratic and Republican politicians use the methods of Watergate to undermine our democratic rights. The Republican and Democratic parties are beholden to the rich capitalists who control this country. Both capitalist parties pursue a policy of policing the world for the benefit of the big corporations—a policy that threatens war and nuclear destruction.

Working people produce more than ever, yet are taking home less. Even government figures, which are designed to cover up the real situation, show that wages have fallen 4.5 percent this past year after taxes and inflation.

In 1973, food prices jumped 20 percent, and the cost of fuel oil and coal went up 45 percent. Inflation this year is worse. In January alone real wages fell more than 1 percent as price hikes took another bite out of our pay checks. At the same time, unemployment in California is predicted to rise up to 8 percent. Already 700,000 Californians are out looking for jobs.

The energy crisis is blamed for 3,000 layoffs a week in California; workers in auto, aircraft, and other industries are affected. Antipollution measures, already inadequate, are being rolled back, endangering the California coastline, our environment, and our health, especially in the many California cities that already have severe smog problems.

While the federal budget for war—a prime cause of inflation—is being hiked, funds for education, welfare, child care, and other social services are being slashed.

Hit first and hardest are those already on the bottom—Blacks, Chicanos, Asians and women.

With Democratic and Republican poli-

tics as accomplices, the monopolies and trusts deliberately restrict production and create artificial scarcity that leads to price explosions. In 1973 it was meat. Now it is oil and gas. And we are told that shortages of metals, paper, fertilizers, and grains are on the way. New leaps in the costs of food and medical care are indicated.

Private profit vs. human needs

Runaway inflation, growing unemployment, sudden shortages of basic necessities—all these things result from a system that puts the private profits of the very rich above the needs of the people. It is the capitalist system with its built-in anarchy that is at the root of these problems.

After each shortage the capitalist politicians claim that we—working people—have been living too luxuriously, eating too much, using too much energy.

What gall! These politicians are beholden to the corporate giants who rake in bigger and bigger profits every month. Standard Oil of California's profits, for example, jumped 54 percent in the single year of 1973. Exxon states its profits for the same year totaled \$2.44-billion—the highest ever amassed by any manufacturing corporation in history! These are figures released by the companies themselves. In fact, the big corporations carefully hide their real bloated profits and executive salaries.

The Democrats and Republicans try to fool us into believing that our demands for wage increases to catch up with inflation are the cause of inflation. But inflation is a built-in feature of present-day capitalism, and not the fault of working people.

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans are able to solve the energy crisis, inflation, or unemployment. Their only concern is safeguarding the profits of the corporations.

To do this they use crooked undem-

ocratic Watergate methods of rule. They govern by frame-up, secrecy, and lies. They negotiate international treaties behind closed doors and don't tell us what's in them.

Both the Democrats and Republicans finance their campaigns with big money from the oil, milk, and other trusts and combines. They pry into the lives of those who oppose them. They spy on, bug, rob, provoke, harass, and frame up those fighting for social change.

Their targets include trade unions struggling to protect the rights and living standards of working people, Black and Chicano organizations, the student movement, prisoners asking for humane conditions, GIs and veterans demanding their rights, and radical and socialist groups.

The Democratic-controlled Congress will grant Nixon's request for \$100-billion to feed the war machine this year, just as it voted to approve every penny Johnson and Nixon spent to wage war against the Vietnamese people.

The Democrats and Republicans lie when they say that this war spending is needed because "America is the greatest force for peace in the world." The world knows better.

It was U.S. imperialism, acting against the wishes and interests of the American people, that conducted the genocidal war in Vietnam, and that props up bloody dictatorships from South Vietnam to Chile, from Greece to South Africa. Nixon's saber-rattling during the Mideast war demonstrated once again that Washington is in fact the greatest danger to peace in the world.

Socialist alternative

Against these policies of the Democrats and Republicans, the Socialist Workers Party offers an alternative that represents the interests of working people.

Continued on following page

...the socialist alternative:

Continued from preceding page

The Socialist Workers Party stands with those who are fighting back against this worsening situation.

We stand with striking workers demanding higher wages, with the Sears workers and city employees in San Francisco, with the United Farm Workers in the fields of California. We stand with the truckers protesting soaring fuel prices; with demonstrators fighting cutbacks in social services; with Blacks, Chicanos, women, and undocumented workers struggling for their rights and for a better life.

We stand with the people of Vietnam and Palestine, and with the oppressed and exploited throughout the world who are resisting U.S. domination.

Our program is . . .

End U.S. role as world cop

Eliminate the military budget, releasing \$100-billion for social needs.

End financial and military support to dictatorships like South Vietnam and Brazil, and to colonial-settler states like Israel and South Africa.

Open the door to refugees from Chile, Haiti, and other repressive regimes.

Dismantle all U.S. ground and naval military bases around the world.

Independence for Puerto Rico.

No interference in the affairs of other countries. Abolish the CIA.

Publish all treaties—no secret international deals.

Fight high prices

End all wage controls.

Add cost-of-living clauses to all trade-union contracts to protect workers from inflation. The government's Consumer Price Index is a fraud. Cost-of-living clauses should be pegged to the real rate of inflation, as determined by committees set up by the unions and consumer groups.

Set pensions, Social Security, welfare, and unemployment benefits at union wage scales. Raise them automatically with each hike in the cost of living.

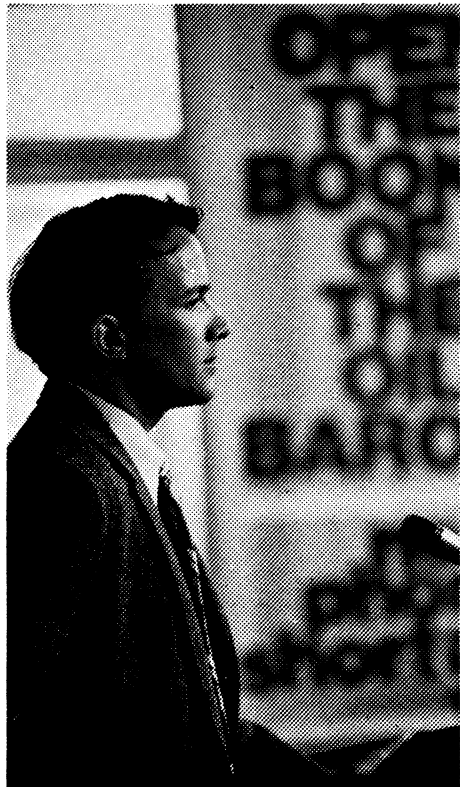
Open the books of all employers who raise prices or refuse to pay cost-of-living increases.

Provide jobs for all

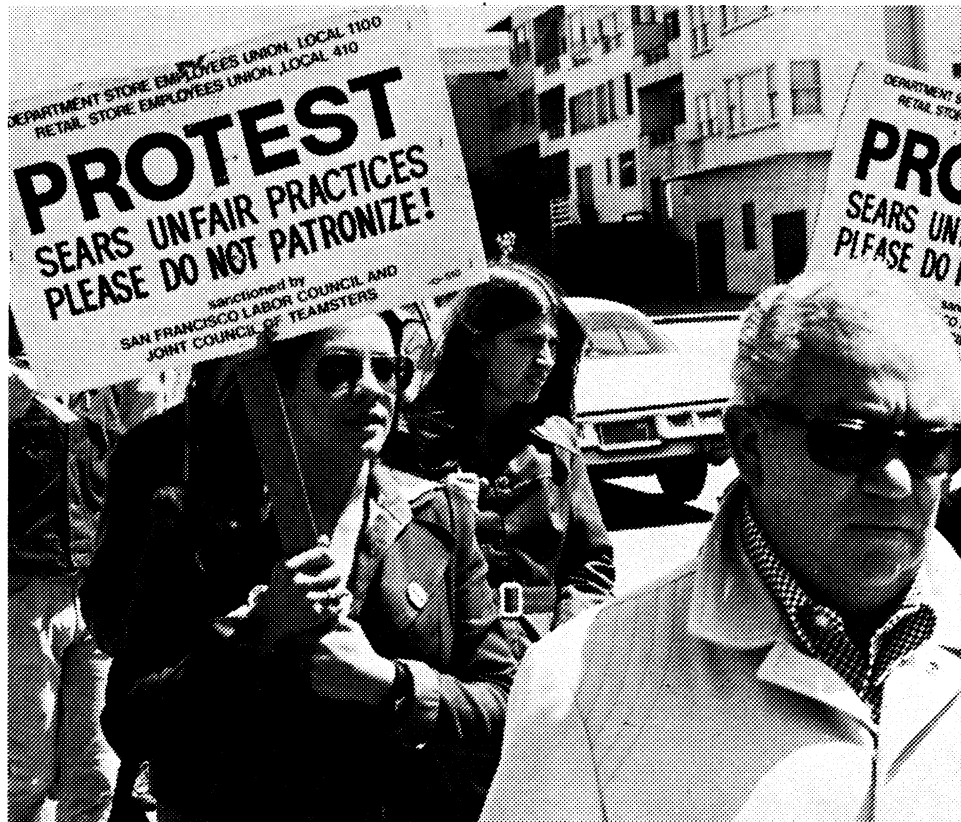
Shorten the workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all.

Launch a crash program to build badly needed housing, child-care facilities, hospitals, schools, recreation areas, and mass transportation.

Preferential hiring and upgrading



Dan Styron, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate from California.



Olga Rodriguez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of California, joins San Francisco picket line in support of striking Sears workers.

for Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities, and for women, to achieve equality. No discrimination in hiring on the basis of language, race, sex, or citizenship. For a California civil service examination in Spanish and English, and where necessary in Chinese and Japanese.

Unemployment compensation at union wages for everyone out of work, including those laid off because of shortages, those just leaving school, Vietnam veterans, and strikers.

For the unconditional right to strike

No abridgment of the right to strike and picket of all workers, including public workers. Repeal the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts, California's Winton Act that denies teachers the right to collective bargaining, and all other antilabor laws.

For rank-and-file control over all union affairs. No government interference in the unions or in collective bargaining.

End all attempts by employers to increase production through speedup and cutbacks in safety standards.

End the use of state or local police against the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO. End all injunctions limiting picketing in support of the UFW boycotts. Full recognition of the UFW's right to collective bargaining and right to strike. Full support of the farm workers' boycott of scab lettuce, grapes, and wine, and to their fight to defend their union against the combined attack of the growers and the Teamster bureaucrats.

Expose the 'energy crisis'

Open the books of the oil companies to expose the real reasons for skyrocketing fuel costs and profits.

Nationalize the energy industries and run them under the control of the workers. Industries dealing with such basic necessities should not be manipulated for the profit of a handful of super-rich families, but must be rationally planned and operated to serve the needs of all the people.

End racist oppression

Launch a crash program with federal, state, and city funds to provide decent housing, schools, hospitals, child-care centers, recreation centers, and jobs in the ghettos and barrios. For community control of these programs and facilities.

Stop police brutality. Remove the existing police from the Black, Chicano, and Chinese communities and replace them with units selected and controlled by the people in these communities.

End federal and state harassment of undocumented workers from Mexico and elsewhere. Indict and jail employers who victimize and cheat undocumented workers. Full civil rights and the right to a job at union wages for all who live in California, regardless of citizenship. Opposition to the Rodino, Kennedy, and Eilberg bills.

Full equality in the unions for members of the oppressed nationalities.

Break the Democratic and Republican monopoly of politics in the Black and Chicano communities: for a Black political party and a Chicano political party to fight the two capitalist parties responsible for perpetuating racial and national oppression. Such independent parties could lead the struggle against all aspects of Black and Chicano oppression. La Raza Unida Party is an important step toward the formation of a mass independent Chicano party.

End the oppression of women

Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment nationally and extend beneficial protective legislation to cover men. Fight all attempts to cut back existing rights for women workers, such as refusing to pay overtime after eight hours work. Enforce Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex.

Equal pay for the same work. Equality in the unions.

Paid maternity leaves with no loss of seniority.

Free abortion and contraception on demand. No forced sterilization. Fight reactionary attempts to reverse the Supreme Court abortion decision.

Quality child-care centers that will be free and available at all times and controlled by those who use and work in them. Implement the 1973 San Francisco referendum in favor of universal low cost 24-hour child care for all children who need it.

No cutbacks in education

End the teacher job freeze. Reduce class size and the length of the working day. Construct new schools. These measures will provide jobs for the 15,000 teachers currently unemployed in California.

Bilingual education for Spanish and Chinese speaking children. More funds for Spanish and Chinese programs to end the language discrimination that California's Supreme Court recently found rampant in state schools.

Support for Black, Chicano, and Chinese control of the schools in their communities.

Education is a right. Tuition-free education for all through the university level.

Halt all funds for the "violence study center" at UCLA—a program to develop monstrous new ways to control people's behavior.

For open admissions and affirmative action plans to guarantee Black, Chicano, Chinese, and other working-class students a university-level education.

Full civil liberties for high school students, including the right to organize and form political groups.

Health care, housing, mass transportation

Free, quality medical and dental care for all through socialization of medicine. Support the demands of veterans for decent, humane, and quality treatment.

Drug addiction will continue to exist as long as the underlying social causes remain. The only practical treatment is to combat these causes—such as poverty, racism, and unemployment. Laws that turn the drug user from the victim into the criminal only compound the injustice and must be repealed.

For a federally funded crash program to build quality low-income public housing. No rents higher than 10 percent of a tenant's income.

Abolish all fares and passenger tolls on rail rapid transit, buses, bridges, tunnels, and highways. Tax the corporations to pay for a safe, nonpolluting, efficient, and adequate public transit system.

Tax the rich, not the workers

End all taxes on incomes under \$15,000. For a 100 percent tax on all incomes above \$30,000. Close the loopholes on taxes for the rich and corporations.

Repeal California's 6 percent sales tax, the sales tax on gasoline, and all other retrogressive taxes that tax the poor more than the rich.

Defend and extend democratic rights

Repeal all "thought control" laws, including the Smith and McCarran Acts and California's Criminal Syndicalist Law. Abolish the attorney general's list of so-called subversive organizations.

Drop the frame-ups and convictions against Los Tres del Barrio, Salm Kolis, Gary Lawton, Peter Bohmer, the San Quentin Six and all others whose only "crime" is their political views.

Demand the federal government stop the prosecution of the Native American defendants in the Wounded Knee trial.

Civil and human rights for prisoners

Prisons under capitalism are an extension of the oppression and exploitation of working people, especially Blacks, Chicanos, and other oppressed nationalities. Prisons will have no place in a socialist society. As an immediate step toward recognizing the rights of prisoners, we call for:

Full union wages for all work performed by inmates.

Release the thousands in jails across California who have not been convicted of any crime.

Repeal the death penalty.

End all lobotomies, drug research, and other inhumane experiments on prisoners, as carried out at the Vacaville prison facility, for example.

The right of prisoners to uncensored mail and reading material and the right to carry on political activity.

Civil and human rights for gay people

Repeal California's "Lewd Conduct" Law and all laws used to oppress homosexuals.

Repeal all laws which deny gay people custody of their children or the right to adopt children.

End discrimination against homosexuals in hiring, housing, and other areas. End police entrapment and harassment of gay people.

Halt destruction of the environment

Immediately halt the oil drilling off California's coast.

Prohibit all utilities and industries, public and private, from burning high sulfur fuels and further polluting the air.

Stop plans to construct nuclear power plants in California without adequate safeguards.

Compel all corporations, under threat of confiscation, to install pollution control equipment.

For a 100 percent tax on all profits made by industries that pollute the environment.

For a labor party

The Democratic and Republican parties are tied hand and foot to the big corporations. The present labor officialdom follows the self-defeating policy of supporting the two capitalist parties.

Working people must break with these parties of the bosses. We must set out to build a new type of party, a labor party based on the trade unions, that could lead our struggle on the political level. This would be a big step forward in the fight for a new kind of government, a workers government.

For a socialist America

The present government cannot simply be "cleaned up." The Watergate scandals prove that the entire federal and state government apparatus is set up to defend the interests of the rich.

The institutions of the government must be replaced and control placed in the hands of the majority, the working people.

The only power that can achieve this transformation is the independent, mass power of the working people together with all the oppressed, organized and mobilized to fight for their own interests.

A workers government would recognize the right of self-determination of the oppressed nationalities.

It would defend and extend civil liberties and basic democratic rights.

It would expropriate the major corporations and banks and operate them under the control of democratically elected workers' committees.

This would reorganize America on a socialist basis—free of war, racism, sexism, inflation, unemployment, and exploitation. The way would be opened for the unparalleled growth in culture, freedom, and the development of every individual that will be possible when the vast resources available to us are used to serve the needs of all instead of the profit of a few.

Such a society is worth fighting to achieve.

Support the socialist campaign!

Texas SWP sets petition drive to collect 50,000 signatures

By NELSON BLACKSTOCK

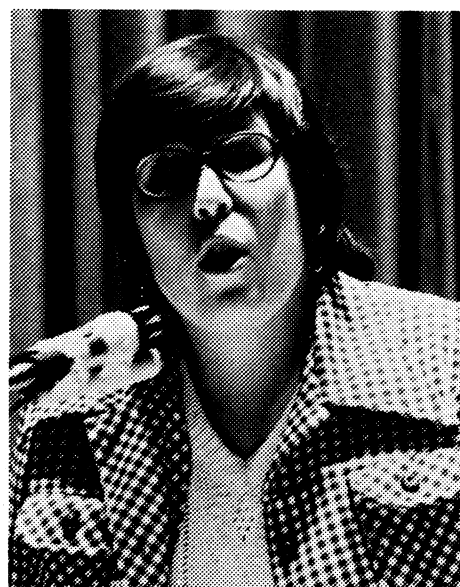
HOUSTON—A number of Texans have achieved prominence (or notoriety, depending on your point of view) in American politics in recent years.

Lyndon Johnson was from Texas. Former Texas governor John Connally was widely touted as Nixon's successor until the going got too hot, and Watergate prosecutor Leon Jaworsky was brought up from a Houston law office.

The current chairmen of both the Democratic Party (Robert Strauss) and the Republican Party (George Bush) are Texans.

But today new voices are beginning to be heard in Texas. This state, which has been the spawning ground for some leading practitioners of capitalist politics, is about to see a step forward by practitioners of a different kind of politics.

On May 18 supporters of the So-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Jean Savage, Texas SWP campaign manager.

cialist Workers Party will begin an all-out drive to place the party on the ballot in this fall's elections.

This is no small task. Texas ballot requirements rank among the stiffest in the country. And a recent reactionary ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court in response to a suit brought by the Texas SWP left these undemocratic laws standing as a barrier to the ballot rights of minority parties.

The Texas SWP was left with no alternative but to collect a whopping 34,095 signatures in order to secure a place on the ballot.

This will not be the first such effort for the SWP in this state. The party successfully petitioned to place Debby Leonard's name on the ballot for governor in 1972, but the 22,253 signatures required then was significantly lower. The difference is accounted for by the fact that the number of signatures required is 1 percent of the total vote cast for governor in the previous election, and more people voted in 1972 than in 1970.

As a precaution, the SWP is shooting for more than the required number of signatures. The goal is 50,000.

Is the effort worth it? The Texas socialists think so. They believe the party has as much right to be on the ballot as the Democrats and Republicans, and that the voters of Texas should be offered the opportunity to cast a socialist vote.

The possibilities for speaking engagements and media time are greatly multiplied for candidates who are actually on the ballot.

The fact that the party was on the ballot for the first time in the last election has done a lot to increase its

stature. The SWP and the Raza Unida Party, which also petitioned for ballot rights in 1972, are seen as two of the four recognized political parties in the state.

(The Raza Unida Party got more than the 5 percent of the vote in the last election necessary to have its name automatically placed on the ballot this year. However, not to be outdone, the Democrats and Republicans in Austin changed the law so that the Raza Unida Party must get 20 percent this time around in order to remain on the ballot in the next elections.)

Supporters of the SWP feel the legitimacy accorded the party as a result of its ballot spot makes it more difficult for the local Democrats and Republicans, as well as ultrarightists, to get by with impunity in illegal attacks on what most people see as a legal party.

In a state where the Ku Klux Klan bombed the Houston SWP headquarters in 1971 and where the party is currently waging a fight against admitted police infiltration, this step to defend the rights of the party becomes particularly important.

The petition drive will be officially launched at a May 16 Houston news conference for Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor. This will be followed by similar news conferences in Dallas, San Antonio, and Austin. These are the four target cities for gathering the bulk of the signatures, and they symbolize a geographic expansion of the party in the state.

At the conclusion of the first big day of petitioning, May 18, a banquet is scheduled at the state campaign headquarters at 3311 Montrose in central Houston. Speakers will include Peter Camejo, a popular socialist speaker and former SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Massachusetts, and Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee.

Also speaking will be Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor; Pedro Vázquez, candidate for attorney general; and Sas Scoggins, candidate for comptroller. Tickets for the banquet are available from the state campaign headquarters for \$5, or \$1.50 for the program alone.

A statewide meeting of campaign supporters was held April 27 to map out the petitioning drive. Campaign

manager Jean Savage explained, "A call is being sent out to campaign supporters all over the state to come into the four cities and help out.

"In addition to two state campaign coordinators," Savage said, "there will be a staff of 20 full-time ballot organizers who will be working the entire 29 days of the petitioning drive. They will be distributed among the four cities for the first half of the drive, which will be centered on the actual gathering of the signatures.

"For the second half, all the ballot organizers will assemble in Houston to assist in the paper work necessary to validate the signatures," Savage said.

"Each Thursday evening, all day Saturday, and some Sundays during the 29 days, campaign supporters will mobilize to get the petitions signed and to process them.

"We expect to wind the whole thing up with a victory celebration on Saturday evening, June 15."

The multitude of tasks involved in making the effort a success ranges from preparation of the meals for the petitioners all the way to sifting through the names and contacting interested Texans met through the petitioning.

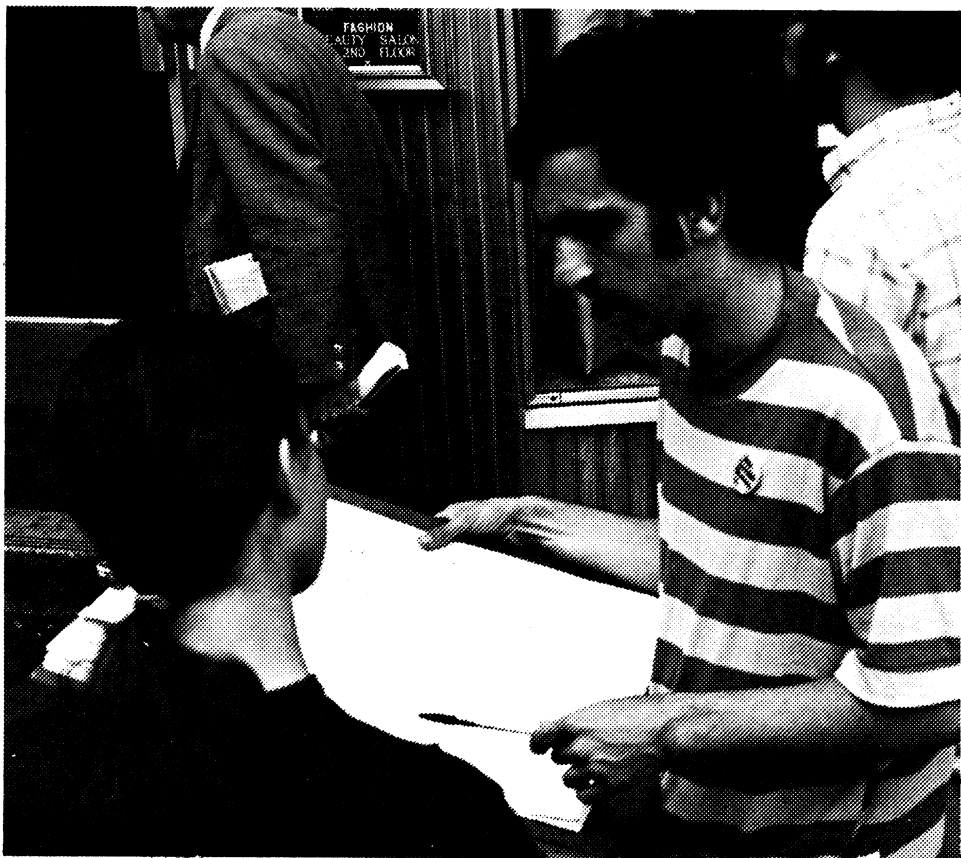
It won't all be hard work. "In addition to regular social activities," Savage said, "we are planning a series of classes sponsored by the campaign in conjunction with the petitioning.

"These classes will be taught by SWP leaders who will be coming to Texas to lend their support to the ballot drive."

The classes begin with a three-part series on the American Civil War taught by Peter Camejo on May 20, 21, and 22. The sessions will be held at 8 p.m. at the Houston campaign headquarters and are open to everyone who supports the socialist campaign or would like to find out more about the views of the SWP.

In early June additional classes will be given by Fred Halstead, 1968 presidential candidate of the SWP, and Dan Styron, candidate for U.S. Senate from California.

Anyone who would like to help in the petitioning effort should contact the SWP campaign committee at 3311 Montrose, Houston, Texas 77006. Telephone: (713) 526-1082.



Texas SWP collected 22,253 signatures to gain ballot status in 1972. This year's goal is 50,000, to meet higher requirements imposed by unjust election laws.

SWP candidate blasts racists

The desegregation fight in Boston schools

The following is taken from a speech by Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, giving the socialist position on the current Boston school desegregation controversy and the struggle for quality education for Black children.

Gurewitz was the featured speaker at an April 20 socialist campaign banquet attended by 135 people.

Also speaking were Rexford Weng and Florence Luscomb, coplaintiffs with the SWP in a major lawsuit challenging the Massachusetts election laws and demanding ballot status and legal recognition as a political party for the SWP.

Rexford Weng is vice-president of the Massachusetts State Labor Council, AFL-CIO. "The Democratic and Republican parties cannot satisfy the needs of working people," Weng said at the banquet.

"The Democratic Party, which says it is a 'friend of labor,' has done nothing but throw a few crumbs to working people. I urge you to support the SWP campaign in exposing the establishment of this country, which is opposed to the desires and needs of working people," he concluded.

Florence Luscomb told the banquet, "I was one of the millions of Ameri-

can women who participated in the struggle for women's suffrage. Yet how limited is that right when in the voting booth my choice is limited solely to the Democratic and Republican parties."

Greetings were sent to the gathering by Nick Jones, New England coordinator of the United Farm Workers, and Liam Deeney and James Fitzpatrick of the Irish Northern Aid Committee. The meeting raised \$2,200 for the SWP campaign.

It looks like Massachusetts is becoming the Mississippi of the North.

Just a few weeks ago 20,000 people, led by the racist Boston school committee [the all-white school board] demonstrated against so-called forced busing—a phrase that has become the code word for the current racist offensive.

The people who organized this march claim that it was not a racist action. They claim it was a demonstration against "forced busing" and for neighborhood schools.

But of the approximately one million students in this state nearly half a million are bused every day. The people who participated in the march obviously are not against busing *per se*. They are really against busing to desegregate the Boston schools, and no matter how you cut it—that's racism.

Massachusetts happens to be the only state in the country with a state law banning segregation in the schools. This is the Racial Imbalance Law. It was passed in 1965 under the pressure of massive mobilizations of Black people, here in Massachusetts and nationally, struggling for civil rights.

Yet the Boston schools are *more* segregated today than nine years ago when the Racial Imbalance Law was enacted.

Mayor Kevin White, Governor Francis Sargent, and other liberals, who pose as "friends of the Black community," have completely caved in to pressure from the school committee and those who are working to repeal the Racial Imbalance Law.

Governor Sargent says he is for the law but thinks it's unworkable. In other words, he is for it as long



Militant/Betsy Whittaker

Donald Gurewitz, socialist candidate for governor of Massachusetts.

as it is not implemented.

The past nine years of inaction by both the Democrats and Republicans prove the inability of either capitalist party to solve the educational problems of Blacks.

The capitalist politicians are quick to hide behind excuses like "there aren't enough funds" or "there aren't enough resources" to upgrade schools in the Black community.

That's a lie.

Does anybody really believe there are not plenty of Black people ready and eager to teach Black children?

The resources are there, but the capitalist system is not designed to solve problems like this. Instead it's designed to solve the problems of the General Motors executive board and other capitalists.

The Socialist Workers Party is running in the current elections to put forward a program that can solve problems on the basis of human needs, not private profit.

This country's resources must be completely redirected. As a first step, we could eliminate so-called defense

spending. Even a fraction of what is squandered daily on the war machine would suffice to build enough modern, well-equipped schools for every student in this state.

The first priority of such a program must be to meet the needs of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which have been denied access to decent education for so long.

One thing is absolutely clear from the experience here in Boston with the Racial Imbalance Law and the way the liberal politicians have scattered like leaves to the wind after the first racist mobilization: No one but the Black community itself will ever solve the problems of the Black community.

The Black community has the right to take over the necessary resources and tools to eliminate racial discrimination in the schools and guarantee quality education for Black children.

This includes complete Black control over massive state and federal monies, the right to hire and fire teachers and administrators, and the right to set curriculum, including a rounded program of Black studies to teach the true history of the Afro-American people.

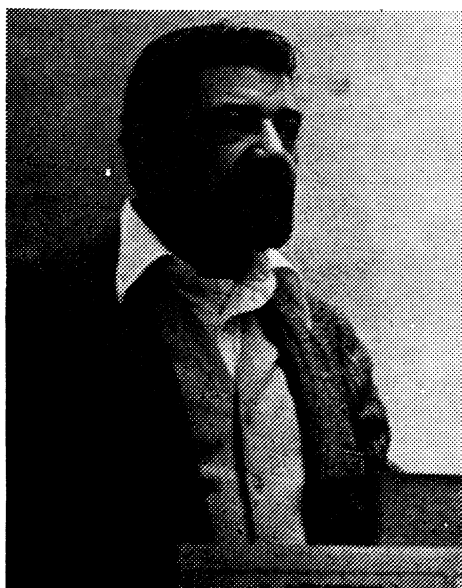
It also includes the right of Black parents to send their children to *any school they choose*. And that means the right to use busing if Black parents see it as a useful tool in obtaining quality education for their children.

It also means the right to maintain mostly Black or all-Black schools, if this is desired by the Black community, even though this is not provided for by the Racial Imbalance Law. The fundamental point is that only the Black community can decide.

The long history of struggle by Black people to win their democratic rights has shown that only through massive, independent actions can these rights be won. The same is true for the right to quality education.

Right now the racist forces are mounting a pressure campaign of demonstrations, picket lines, and vague threats of violence. A massive response is needed.

The Socialist Workers Party stands with all those who seek to counter the racist offensive and defend the right of Black parents to send their children to any school they please.



Militant/Betsy Waldheim

"I urge you to support the SWP campaign," says Rexford Weng, vice-president of Massachusetts State Labor Council.

N.Y. socialist confronts Democrats on housing

By CARYL LOEB

NEW YORK—Derrick Morrison, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, was among the gubernatorial candidates who addressed a special May 1 meeting of the West Side Tenants' Union.

Alarmed by the threat of further antitenant, prolandlord legislation, 60 New York residents turned out to hear the candidates' proposals for solving the problems facing tenants.

The demands of the tenants union are for rent control; prohibition of "special" rent increases every time an apartment is vacated; the right to conduct rent strikes; and guarantees that every dwelling is fit for human habitation.

The day before, Governor Malcolm Wilson had proposed legislation that in no way dealt with the problem of skyrocketing rents. Wilson's bill called for a procedure under which a landlord and prospective tenant would "negotiate" a rent for an apartment. The program was immediately denounced by tenant groups as "guaranteed chaos," and they pointed out that it

removed certain protections that many tenants have under present laws.

On the platform with Morrison at the meeting were Democratic gubernatorial hopefuls Howard Samuels, Ogden Reid, Hugh Carey, and Donald Manes.

Republican Governor Malcolm Wilson did not appear.



The four Democratic candidates gave typical double-talk answers, saying they were on the tenants' side and that there should be more apartment buildings. The audience was visibly unsatisfied.

Of all the candidates only Morrison dealt with the issues in a clear and forceful manner. In addition to supporting the demands of the Tenants' Union, the SWP candidate called for rent rollbacks to no more than 10 percent of a tenant's income; a crash program to build quality low-income public housing, with priority funds to the Black and Puerto Rican communities; and using the \$100-billion military budget for a program to rebuild the cities.

Morrison urged that the Public Housing Authority be replaced with a city-wide tenants council that would have representatives elected from each housing site. He also called for guaranteed decent housing before relocation due to urban renewal; for the right of indefinite occupancy with no evictions; and penalties for landlords who harass tenants or fail to make repairs.

Morrison told the audience, "You've heard the shallow and transparent promises these Democratic politicians make. You can succeed only by continuing to organize yourselves independently. They can't represent you because the real interests they represent are those of the landlords and real estate sharks."

The New York socialist campaign has published two new brochures: "Why Should Puerto Ricans Vote for the Socialist Workers Party in 1974?" (in Spanish and English) and "Watergate and 'Lesser Evil' Politics—Why Ramsey Clark is Not the Answer." Clark is campaigning for the Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate from New York. For a free copy of these brochures, write to SWP Campaign Committee, 706 Broadway, Eighth Floor, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 982-4966.

Why Democrats have no solutions to oppression of Phila. Black community

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

PHILADELPHIA—A gang of racist whites tore apart a house in the Kensington neighborhood here April 20.

Plumbing and wiring were ripped out, doors and walls smashed, and the furniture was burned in a bonfire on the street.

Such epithets as "Go Home, Nigger" were scrawled on the walls.

The reason? There was a rumor that a Black family was going to move into the house.

This incident is exceptional only because of the amount of pious rhetoric being used by the local news media to deplore it. Despite the media's denunciations of bigotry, the incident points up the degrading conditions and racist practices faced by Black people here, who constitute nearly 40 percent of the population.

Presiding over the "City of Brotherly Love" is Mayor Frank Rizzo, an ex-cop notorious for his racism and brutality.

Poverty and despair

In 1970 the median income for Black families here was only 72 percent of that for white families. In lower North Philadelphia, which is almost completely Black, it was estimated that 30 percent of the families had incomes below the official poverty level.

The unemployment rates for Blacks are consistently twice those for whites, and for Black youth this picture is far worse.

In North Philadelphia, 27 percent of the housing units are overcrowded.

The school system prepares Black youth only for the lowest paid jobs, the Army, or the unemployment lines. More than 60 percent of the students in Philadelphia public schools are Black, yet only 26 percent of all high school graduates and 13 percent of all college graduates in Philadelphia are Black.

The problems of drug addiction and petty crime are particularly acute here. Street gangs of Black youth—systematically denied any prospects for a decent education or jobs—engage in regular warfare. Last year 44 young Black people were reportedly killed in gang fights.

1974 elections

How these appalling conditions can be ended is certainly the key question before the Black community in the 1974 elections. The different strategies for doing so are clearly counterposed by the race in the 2nd Congressional District, which encompasses the major parts of the North and West Philadelphia Black communities.

The incumbent, Robert Nix, is the highest Black elected official in Pennsylvania. During his tenure in Congress since 1958, Nix has remained a loyal, "low-profile" Democrat, serving on the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where he condoned U. S. aggression in Vietnam and elsewhere.

Nix is being challenged in the May 21 Democratic Party primary by Hardy Williams, who styles himself as a representative of the "new breed" of Black politicians, such as California Congressman Ron Dellums and former Cleveland mayor Carl Stokes.

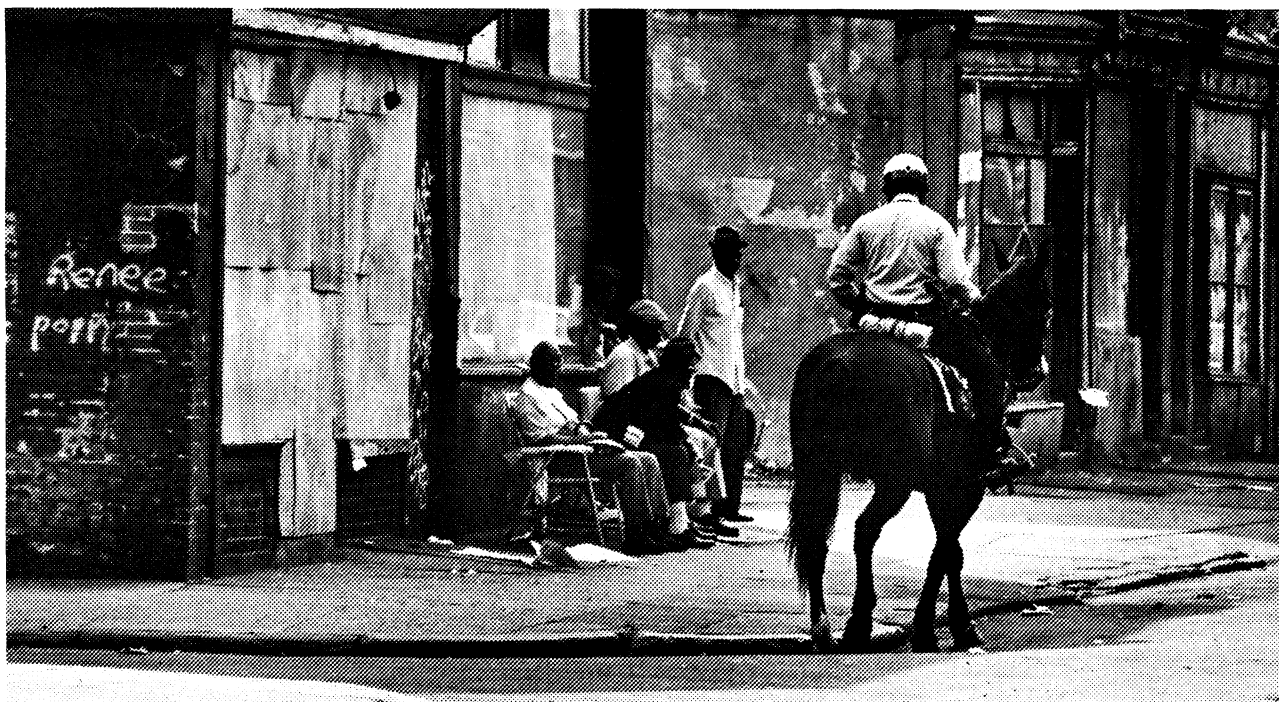
Williams was elected state representative in 1970 without the backing of the regular Democratic Party. He is running as one who is "unbought" and "independent" of the machine. His campaign slogan is "Time for a Difference."

Tony Austin is the Socialist Workers Party candi-



Militant/Mark Satinoff

Tony Austin, Socialist Workers Party congressional candidate from Philadelphia.



date in the 2nd C.D. A major point in his platform is for a crash program of federal and state funds to build needed schools, homes, and hospitals in the Black community, with all programs controlled by the community. He supports preferential hiring and upgrading of Black workers to make up for past and present discrimination.

Austin also calls for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs for all, and for an escalator clause for all wages, welfare, Social Security, unemployment compensation, and veterans' benefits.

The question of the Democratic Party is a fundamental dividing line between Austin's campaign and those of Williams and Nix. Austin insists no improvement in the lives of Black people can be brought about through supporting either capitalist party.

Austin points out that the primary responsibility for the conditions facing the Black community falls on the Democrats, who have run Philadelphia for several decades.

One of the reasons the Democrats have stayed in power so long has been the solidly Democratic Black vote. Blacks began to switch from the Republican Party in 1936, during Roosevelt's "New Deal," and no ward with a majority Black population has voted for a Republican since 1954. On several occasions the Black vote has meant the difference between victory and defeat for the Democrats.

This was the case when James Tate was elected mayor in 1963. In return for this loyalty, the Democratic Party reapportioned the state senate and general assembly districts in the same year, gerrymandering them so as to reduce substantially the power of the Black vote in every single district in Philadelphia.

'No democratic government'

Now, although Blacks make up nearly 40 percent of the population, there are only eight Black state representatives (out of 34) and two Black state senators (out of nine) from the city. Only four of Philadelphia's 17 city council members are Black.

In 1905 W. E. B. Du Bois wrote: "There is no democratic government in Philadelphia, and has not been for a generation. There is an oligarchy of ward politicians and businessmen using public office for private gain." That statement, Tony Austin remarks, is even more true today.

The Philadelphia police department is a prime example of the brand of "justice" meted out to Blacks by the Democratic machine here.

In a 1973 federal court case, the judge concluded that violations by police of the constitutional rights of Blacks "do occur, with such frequency that they cannot be dismissed as rare, isolated instances; and that little or nothing is done by the city authorities to punish such infractions, or to prevent their recurrence."

The reason for this situation is simple: the police department does not exist to protect the rights and interests of Black and other working people, but to protect the interests of the handful of capitalists who run Philadelphia and the country. The cops' real job is to terrorize and brutalize anyone who poses a threat to the status quo.

Corruption flows naturally from this function.

A recent report by the Pennsylvania crime commission revealed "corruption at all levels" of the department, from bribes to protection rackets, and trafficking in stolen merchandise, including drugs.

Democratic Party vs. Black party

The Democratic Party is an integral part of this racist and corrupt system. Incumbent Congressman Nix maintains his power base through his subservience to the Democratic machine and through doling out whatever patronage and favors the machine sees fit to grant him.

Tony Austin has pointed out: "This course may benefit a few individuals, but it does nothing to alleviate the poverty and degradation the masses of Black people suffer."

A number of Black militants who recognize the bankruptcy of Nix's course have unfortunately been taken in by the "independent" stance of Hardy Williams. Indeed, some of his supporters claim that the People's Institute for Political Education, which Williams founded, "eventually will be the basis for an independent Black political party."

But because most Blacks still vote for the Democratic Party, Williams and his supporters say the time is not ripe for forming such a Black party.

Tony Austin has taken up these questions in an "Open Letter to Supporters of Hardy Williams."

Far from being a clever new strategy for Black political power, working within the Democratic Party is a proven failure. It is precisely the dead-end trap Black people have been caught in for decades. The Democratic and Republican parties, Austin's letter states, "remain the biggest obstacle in our struggle."

To pretend that one of these parties can be wrested away from the capitalists who control it and somehow transformed into an instrument for Black liberation is a utopian fantasy at best, if not a cynical deception.

Anyone who advocates "beginning" within the Democratic Party—no matter how personally honest, well-intentioned, or even militant the individual may be—is in practice doing a disservice to the Black struggle by perpetuating this fraud.

Independent action

What is needed, Austin stresses, is a course of action independent of the capitalist parties.

"A Black political party," he says, "as well as being an alternative in the elections, could bring the full power of the community into action through campaigns around such burning issues as decent housing, education, employment, and an end to police brutality. . . ."

"Such a party would not depend on the good will of a few individuals," Austin's letter continues, "but on the power of the masses of Black people mobilized around their own demands. The civil rights movement showed the power and potential gains that can be won through actions involving masses of people."

Austin concludes: "The only party and candidates with this perspective are the Socialist Workers Party candidates. A vote for the socialist candidates is a vote against the Democratic and Republican parties and the racism and corruption they represent."

Georgia SWP candidates demand abolition of police 'stakeout' terror squad in Atlanta

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—"It's cold-blooded murder," Vince Eagan told the television audience. "Governor Carter is trying to make heroes out of this self-appointed execution squad of cops. I demand its abolition."

Eagan is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Georgia. He was speaking over WSB-TV on the six o'clock news in answer to Governor Jimmy Carter's defense of the Atlanta police department's newly reorganized decoy-stakeout squad, an entrapment unit.

The decoy squad went on a rampage April 19 that left two Black men dead and one 14-year-old youth wounded. David Jack, 19, and Lloyd Wheeler, 21, became the first two victims of police bullets since Democrat Maynard Jackson took office as At-



Militant/George Basley

Vince Eagan, socialist candidate for governor of Georgia, calls police killing of two Black men 'cold-blooded murder.'

lanta's first Black mayor in January.

Last year, trigger-happy cops killed 19 people, 18 of them Black, giving Atlanta the grim distinction of having the highest number of slayings by police for a city its size.

Under pressure from the anger in the Black community at these latest killings, Jackson fired Police Chief John Inman on May 3, although he cited "administrative" disagreements as the reason.

The mayor and several of the newly elected Black city officials have called for investigations of the police killings, but none of them have publicly demanded abolition of the decoy squad. In fact, when Governor Carter praised the decoy unit, Jackson applauded "the governor's interest in city politics."

Black Congressman Andrew Young (D-Ga.) has remained silent on the police shootings altogether.

James Harris, who is running on the SWP ticket against Young, and Vince Eagan have demanded that Jackson disband the decoy unit.

Following the latest slayings, the city council's Public Safety Committee began hearings into the decoy-stakeout squad. The committee asked Jackson to suspend operation of the unit during the investigation.

Jackson said he has not yet decided whether to comply with the council's request. "I'm not sure if the problem is to do away with the decoy squad or to improve its efficiency," he said.

At the first city council hearing, only police officers were permitted to testify, while the family of one of the latest victims sat in the back of the council chamber and was not allowed to speak.

James Harris attended the hearings

and told *The Militant*: "I asked Councilman James Bond, a liberal Black Democrat, whether the committee would take testimony from the Black community. He told me only 'experts' could testify!"

Residents of the Carver Homes Community in southwest Atlanta, where Lloyd Wheeler was gunned down, told Harris that the stakeout-decoy squad had begun harassing them weeks before the killings, on the pretext of looking for an escaped convict.

Police claim that both Wheeler and David Jack were robbery suspects. Wheeler was shot by cops while at the wheel of his pickup truck, allegedly with a gun in his hand. Jack was shot to death in a downtown Atlanta alley by police who claim he tried to rob a stakeout cop disguised as a wino with a roll of bills hanging out of his pocket.

The police admit they shot Jack in the back as he tried to run away. Jack was unarmed.

"What are city officials waiting for? Nineteen more victims this year?" asked Harris. "The truth is obvious. The decoy squad is part of an occupation force in the Black community. They've appointed themselves judge, jury, and executioner."

"An investigation should be conducted not by the city council but by an independent commission set up and controlled by the Black community," he explained. "If the Black community is to be protected against police terror, we must build our own movement, independent of the elected officials of the racist Democratic and Republican parties."

On April 27 the socialist candidates spoke at two street-corner rallies, one of them at Plaza Park in downtown



Militant/Dave Linsey

James Harris, SWP congressional candidate in Georgia, urges independent investigation of police terror.

Atlanta, where the police killed David Jack. Young Black shoppers applauded Eagan's demand that the whole racist police force be removed from the Black community and replaced by units selected and controlled by the Black community.

When Eagan spoke about the barbaric Georgia prison system, a man interrupted: "Right on, brother! I just spent six years there." Across the street, another listener shouted, "I just got out after four years."

Eagan has also begun a statewide tour with meetings in Columbus and Athens, Ga., where he was enthusiastically received by student audiences of 200 on each occasion. At the Athens engagement, Eagan debated eight other gubernatorial candidates at the University of Georgia.

Mutnick blasts anti-abortion drive in Missouri

By LIZ JAYKO

ST. LOUIS—"If you decide to vote for me, I want to warn you about those who will urge you to be 'more practical,' such as my Democratic and Republican opponents in this race," said Barbara Mutnick at the Missouri Socialist Workers Party campaign banquet held here April 27. Mutnick is the SWP candidate for the U.S. Senate seat now held by Democrat Thomas Eagleton.

"Watergate has shown how afraid the rulers of this country are of movements that have fought for change outside the Democratic and Republican parties," she explained, "such as the antiwar movement, the Black movement, and the women's liberation movement."

In addition to directly attacking

these movements through arrests, harassment, spying, and infiltration, Mutnick said, "there's a second line of defense they've used simultaneously, and that is wooing people into their political parties in order to safely contain and dampen independent struggles."

What is really "impractical" and self-defeating, she said, is to vote for the capitalist parties on election day after fighting against their policies all the rest of the year.

Mutnick blasted Eagleton and other Missouri politicians who are on a campaign to prevent implementation of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

"A slew of male politicians, from Thomas Eagleton to St. Louis Mayor John Poelker to Attorney General John

Danforth, has done everything in their power to deny women the right to abortion," she said. "Women need to mobilize our collective power against their attempts to rule our bodies and run our lives."

More than 100 people attended the banquet. They included activists who built the antiwar movement, trade unionists, feminists, and activists in the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, including Mary Watkins, Johnson's mother. The committee is building support for Johnson, a Black St. Louis youth who was framed up on a murder charge and sentenced to life imprisonment. SWP campaign supporters are actively involved in publicizing Johnson's case.

Campaign supporters also came from Columbia, Mo., Kansas City,

Mo., and Chicago.

SWP campaign manager Norton Sandler explained the undemocratic election laws the socialists must overcome to win a place on the November ballot. The SWP must obtain the signatures of 1 percent of the people who voted in the last gubernatorial election from each of the state's 10 congressional districts in order to put Mutnick's name on the ballot. This means collecting more than 18,000 signatures.

Sandler appealed for funds to launch this petitioning drive and raised \$2,830 in donations and pledges.

Also speaking at the banquet was Derrick Morrison, SWP candidate for governor of New York, who discussed the FBI plot against the Black liberation movement.

Socialist candidate addresses Indiana unionists

LOGANSPOUT, Ind., May 6—Harold Schlechtweg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from Indiana's 7th C.D., recently addressed a meeting of Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Local 280.

The union represents 900 employees at the giant Wilson conglomerate, which has a meat processing plant here. A shop steward interested in the SWP campaign arranged the meeting, which was attended by 40 trade unionists, most of them in their twenties.

Schlechtweg began by explaining the differences between the SWP campaign and the campaigns of the Democrats and Republicans. He had barely begun when someone in the back of the room shouted, "The difference is that you haven't made any tapes!"

Schlechtweg answered, to laughter and some applause, "Right, and we want to throw out the bums who did make the tapes."

Schlechtweg went on to outline the SWP program for fighting inflation, layoffs, Watergate, and the energy crisis. He emphasized the need for the union movement to break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and build an independent labor party.

As he concluded his talk, the socialist candidate noted that the Democrats and Republicans falsely claim to represent all the people in Indiana. The Socialist Workers Party doesn't make a similar claim, he explained. Socialists speak for the interests of working people, not for the interests

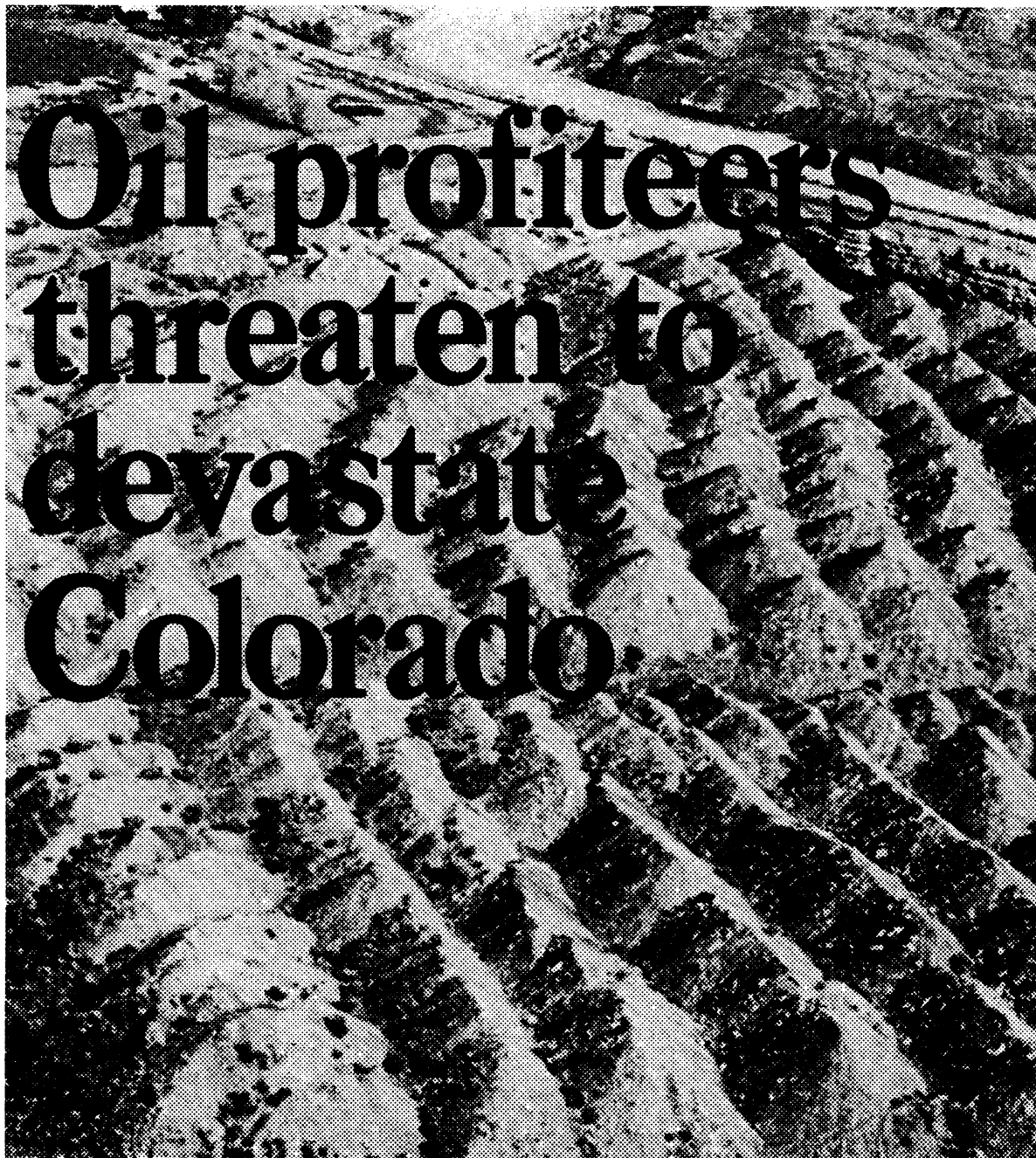
of the bankers, oil companies, and conglomerates that exploit workers.

In discussion after Schlechtweg's talk, the president of the Fort Wayne Meat Cutters local said he was sympathetic, "but if we don't reelect Birch Bayh [Democratic senator from Indiana] we'll get someone worse."

Schlechtweg replied that this "lesser evil" approach only kept working people in the capitalists' hip pocket.

A young chief steward, however, expressed agreement with many of Schlechtweg's views, in particular the need for an independent labor party. The steward said when he raised such issues among union officials, he found them hard to convince, because they were "old and set in their ways."

Oil profiteers threaten to devastate Colorado



Strip mining left this wasteland at Nucla, Colo.

By JOEL HOUTMAN

What weighs 400 million tons, has the texture of chalk dust, is as barren as the surface of the moon, and possibly causes cancer?

Answer: the waste material left over from oil-shale development that the oil companies plan on dumping into Colorado's mountain canyons in one year.

The oil-shale operation is predicted to become the largest mining project in the history of the United States. Colorado has, according to the Department of the Interior, an estimated 1.25 trillion barrels of oil—more than three times as much as the entire Middle East.

The problem is that it exists in the form of oil shale. This fabulous resource has not been previously developed because the determining factor in capitalist society—profit—was missing.

The situation has changed since the oil monopolies employed the "energy crisis" to drive up the price of oil on a world scale and to beat back

Joel Houtman is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from Colorado's 1st C.D.

regulations for protection of the environment. Now extraction of oil from shale is being eyed by the monopolies as potentially profitable.

But the hazards of this operation to the people of Colorado are staggering if the process is left in the hands of the oil profiteers. The dangers involved are only one more example of the harm the profit system has done to Colorado's natural resources and living conditions.

The development of the resources of this state by the large corporations, in collusion with the Democrats and Republicans in the state and federal governments, has subjected Colorado citizens to the dangers of nuclear radiation, nerve gas poisoning, and water and air pollution, to name only some of the problems.

The burgeoning oil shale development plan is a prototype of how the capitalists and the government collaborate to exploit public resources with no thought to human needs.

For some time the Atomic Energy Commission has been experimenting with using nuclear bomb blasts to extract both oil and natural gas from underground rock formations. Three such tests to stimulate natural gas have already taken place,

two of them in Colorado. The AEC has plans for as many as five nuclear explosions per working day for 12-and-a-half years.

These plans have come in for much opposition from the people of Colorado, because of the abysmal safety record of the AEC in this state.

Record of AEC

For example, the AEC has allowed building contractors to use radioactive tailings as fill for houses and schools.

The commission also operates, along with Dow Chemical, a plant that makes atomic triggering devices for thermonuclear warheads. This plant, known as Rocky Flats, is situated nine miles upwind from the more than one million people in the Denver metropolitan area. An accident took place at Rocky Flats in May 1969. More than \$50-million worth of equipment was destroyed in an explosion and fire that nearly released radioactive plutonium to the winds.

Needless to say, Colorado citizens are less than enthusiastic about the AEC's plans to extract oil from shale by A-bombing underneath the state.

Scientists say the potential dangers from such blasts include the possibility of triggering earthquakes, contamination of underground water tables with lethal radioactivity, and harm to human beings from exposure to the natural gas or oil extracted by the blasts.

Open pit mining

But meanwhile, the jump in fuel prices has made the extraction of oil shale potentially profitable through nonnuclear methods. It is the open-pit technique that threatens to produce millions of tons of chalky waste material to be dumped over the state.

Besides the dangerous and destructive shale tailings the oil companies will dump on public land, their operations will increase the salinity of the Colorado River, making its waters unusable for irrigation.

The various government agencies supposedly set up to supervise the extraction of oil in Colorado have been very cooperative with the oil monopolies' plans. For example, the oil extraction process being used by big oil violates current air pollution standards, so the Environmental Protection Agency has seen fit to make an exception for the oil-shale plants.

Moreover, most of the oil shale exists on federal land, and the Bureau of Land Management has leased the land to the oil companies at giveaway rates. The first tract was leased jointly to Gulf Oil and Standard Oil of Indiana at a small fraction of its value, as estimated by a House subcommittee.

But the oil trusts don't even have to pay all of this, since "development costs" can be credited against two-fifths of their bid. Nor do the oil companies have to pay for land reclamation if they feel they may incur "extraordinary costs."

The beautiful mountains of Colorado have been enjoyed by many, but few are as excited about them as the oil barons and the land "developers." Most of the land along the eastern slope of the mountains from New Mexico to Wyoming has been divided up and filed for development with county clerks by the big development corporations of California. The construction companies envisage a "strip city" all along the eastern slope of the Rockies.

No controls, no overall plan, and no laws exist over these developers to ensure that the cities they build will be fit places for human beings to live.

The construction of cities in capitalist society obeys only one law—the drive for profits. As a result, cities develop as ugly, irrational monstrosities.

Already Denver is living proof. It faces a water crisis, and is sprawling out over the prairie with essentially no mass transit system.

Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler are happy about this, however. The chaos of Denver means that this city has the highest per capita ownership of their cars. Cars in mile-high Denver produce 50 percent more pollutants than at sea level because of the lower oxygen content of the air. As a result, the city has the nation's highest level of carbon monoxide pollution.

Denver faces other dangers too, such as the molybdenum mines high in the Rocky Mountains. Following the capitalist law that water flows toward money, semiarid Denver gets its water from these same mountains. A result is that molybdenum, a dangerous pollutant, has contaminated the water supply. Not coincidentally, Denver has the highest cancer rate of any American city.

And if that's not enough, to the northwest of Denver is the atom bomb factory. And 10 miles northeast of the heart of Denver, at the end of a runway at Stapleton International Airport, sits the Rocky Mountain Arsenal. It contains enough nerve gas to kill every human being on the planet 1,000 times over!

It is little wonder that some people feel Colorado's centennial in 1976 may be more like a wake than a celebration.

The oil barons, the construction bosses, and other capitalists have but one aim in mind and that is profits. The environmental destruction and human suffering their plans may cause does not enter their minds.

It is the Democratic and Republican politicians who have organized the oil-shale giveaway, who have granted the oil trusts all the tax loopholes they thought they could get away with, and who stockpile thermonuclear bombs and nerve gas to terrorize the world and protect capitalist power and investments.

Socialist alternative

The Colorado Socialist Workers Party program offers a way to fight back against this capitalist plunder. The SWP's platform says, "It is becoming obvious that the profit-hungry corporations and their friends, the government agencies, cannot be entrusted with developing resources."

The socialist candidates demand an end to oil-shale strip mining until stringent laws are passed forcing the oil companies to pay for waste disposal, pollution control, and land reclamation. We call for a stop to the leasing of public lands to the oil monopolies at giveaway prices.

We demand an unconditional ban on the use of nuclear blasts to extract energy. And we propose that the Rocky Flats Installation and the Rocky Mountain Arsenal be immediately dismantled.

If the working people of Colorado controlled the development of our natural resources, development would be based on human need rather than private profit.

The only way this can be assured is by nationalizing the oil monopolies and land developers under workers control.

In a socialist society, all major industries would be socially owned so that growth and development could be democratically and rationally planned to raise the standard of living of humanity. We would no longer be victims of a system that follows the blind laws of profit-making for the wealthy few.

SWP demands compensation for victims

Judge orders Minnesota polluter to close

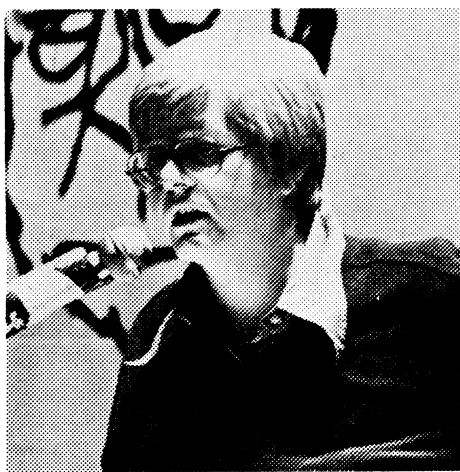
MINNEAPOLIS—U.S. District Judge Miles Lord has ordered the Reserve Mining Company to close down because it is polluting Lake Superior drinking water with cancer-causing taconite tailings.

The tailings, a by-product of iron ore smelting, contain asbestos fibers, which are known to cause gastrointestinal cancer and lung cancer. Reserve had been dumping 67,000 tons of tailings in the lake each day.

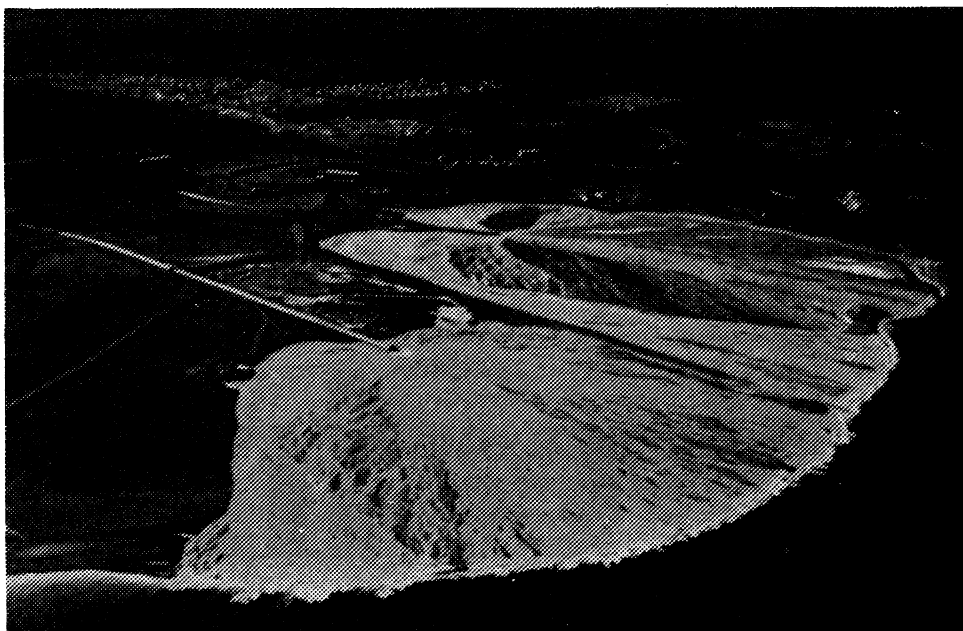
Judge Lord's decision, however, contains no provision for compensation for the 3,100 Reserve employees left without jobs after the closing of the company's plant in Silver Bay, Minn., and its mining operation in nearby Babbitt. Thousands of other residents of these two towns are also dependent for their livelihood on the mining industry.

Lord's decision came after an eight-and-a-half month trial on the effects of dumping the tailings into Lake Superior. The asbestos fibers in the tailings are picked up by currents in the lake and transmitted into the municipal water supplies of many northern Minnesota communities, including Duluth, the third largest city in the state.

In 1969, the U.S. Department of the Interior released a report recommending that Reserve stop its dumping of the tailings in Lake Superior.



Militant/Mark Satinoff
Jane Van Deusen, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota.



Cancer-causing wastes from Reserve Mining Company being dumped into Lake Superior.

No action was taken on this report.

Five years later, in January 1974, Judge Lord ruled that the asbestos fibers in the drinking water were indeed a threat. Lord's decision was in response to a suit against Reserve by the Environmental Protection Agency, several state agencies, and ecology groups.

The judge heard five months of testimony by medical specialists brought in both by Reserve and by the federal government. (Because of the latency period of up to 25 years, it is too early to see an increase in cancer deaths in the populations of the affected communities.)

Following Lord's decision, Reserve put forward a plan for conversion to on-land disposal of the tailings. This plan laid down several conditions, however: Reserve would continue its operations while the on-land disposal system was being built, which could take up to five years; and it demanded government financial aid.

On April 20, Lord rejected this plan and ordered Reserve to immediately halt its operations. Lord also ordered the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to immediately provide safe drinking water for the affected communities.

The Corps of Engineers initially refused to provide the water until it knew who would foot the bill!

Reserve was closed down for two days, but the company then won a U.S. Court of Appeals decision to reopen until May 15. On that date, the Court of Appeals will hear the company's motion for a stay of Judge Lord's ruling. Workers have now returned to Reserve, but with no assurance they will have a job in two weeks.

The owners of Reserve Mining Company, in the meantime, are reaping their profits from the taconite already processed. They have already stated that if the cost of reopening Reserve is too high, they are prepared to go elsewhere for their iron ore.

Reserve is jointly owned by the Republic Steel Corporation and the Armco Steel Corporation, two of the five top steel companies in the country.

Minnesota Governor Wendell Anderson, who could have closed the company down at the first hint of asbestos contamination, instead remained silent on the issue until the April 20 decision by Judge Lord. Then Anderson jumped on the bandwagon.

Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota, called Judge Lord's decision "a victory for all those who consider the health of tens of thousands of people to be more important than the private profits of a corporation."

Van Deusen demanded that the government stop stalling and immediately begin supplying the affected communities with safe drinking water.

If Reserve closes, its employees should be paid for a 40-hour workweek at union wages until the plant reopens, the socialist candidate said. "This compensation should come out of the profits of Republic and Armco," said Van Deusen. "The Reserve employees produced those profits, and these two corporations have no right to pack up and leave, abandoning to poverty the very people who created that wealth."

The socialist candidate pointed out that during the court case it was revealed that Reserve had deliberately exaggerated the cost of building an on-land disposal system for the taconite tailings.

"Reserve should be made to open its books," she declared, "so that its employees and other residents of the area can see firsthand whether Reserve is 'too poor' to finance on-land disposal."

Van Deusen called for a committee of Reserve employees and local residents to investigate all proposals for disposing of the taconite tailings in an environmentally safe manner.

If this committee finds that no feasible disposal plan exists, she said, and concludes that the plant cannot reopen, the profits of the steel corporations should be used to reimburse Silver Bay and Babbitt residents who are forced to relocate, and provide employment services for them as well.

"The Reserve Mining Company has amply demonstrated that it places profits far above the needs and lives of its workers and other Minnesota residents," Van Deusen said. "The only way to guarantee the safe operation of the industry is to nationalize Reserve and run it under the control of Reserve employees."

Oregon socialist hits inflation, drop in real wages

By GEORGE KONTANIS

PORTLAND, Ore. — Governor Tom McCall would like Oregonians to believe they live in an oasis, isolated from the problems plaguing the rest of the U.S.

Stacey Seigle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, blasted this myth at an April 20 banquet here sponsored by the SWP campaign.

"If you take a good, hard look at Oregon, you will find that working people here are no better off than the working people of California or New York," Seigle told 50 supporters at the banquet.

The real wages of Oregon workers have dropped 4.5 percent, she noted, while the profits of Weyerhaeuser, the giant lumber corporation, soared 100 percent. Food prices went up 22 percent since last spring, she said, with Portland beef prices up 7.5 percent in March alone.

The socialist candidate pointed out that her three Democratic opponents in the gubernatorial race—despite their high ratings by AFL-CIO officials—offer no program to meet the problems facing Oregon working people.

She pointed to the example of Democrat Robert Straub, one of her op-

ponents, who made the incredible statement that "the problem with Oregonians is that they overconsume—perhaps they should do as I do, and use a wood cook stove."

Seigle retorted, "To the tens of thousands of Oregonians who *underconsume*, not by choice but by necessity, Straub's position is an insult to our intelligence. . . ."

"Contrary to Governor McCall's claim that we have an inherently good system," Seigle said, "the truth is that we have an inherently rotten system—one in which production is organized for private profit alone, not for basic human needs."

Working people need to break from the two capitalist parties responsible for inflation, unemployment, and shortages—the Democrats and Republicans—and form an independent labor party based on the trade unions, she said.

The campaign banquet received greetings from the president of the Organization of Arab Students and from the Oregon United Farm Workers organizer.

The banquet was part of a socialist education weekend, which included

a panel on Chile, featuring John Stunder, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, and Bryan Johns of the Chile Fair Trial Committee. Both stressed the importance of continuing the defense of political prisoners held by the junta.

Young Socialists for Seigle held an organizational meeting during the conference to plan future activities, including a statewide tour for SWP candidate for superintendent of public instruction, John Lemon. Students at-

tended the conference from the University of Oregon in Eugene, and Oregon State University in Corvallis, as well as Portland campuses.

Other speakers at the weekend were Maceo Dixon, cochairman of the SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee, and Helen Meyers, SWP organizer in Seattle.

Campaign supporters contributed \$882 at the banquet to finance campaign activities.



Militant/Maceo Dixon
Stacey Seigle, socialist candidate for governor of Oregon, at Portland campaign banquet.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

MAY 17, 1974

Bihar a 'boiling cauldron'

India: skyrocketing prices prompt mass struggles

By Sharad Jhaveri

Bombay

The unbearable conditions created by rampant inflation, scarcity of basic goods, and failure of the public distribution system have led to mounting unrest throughout India.

The All India State Governments Employees Federation has called for more than forty lakhs [4,000,000] state employees to stage a one-day protest strike April 9 against rising prices and scarcities. The federation has also demanded a minimum wage based on needs, a bonus to meet the rise in the cost of living, etc.

The federation has also opposed utilization of MISA [Maintenance of Internal Security Act], a repressive measure passed after Gandhi's landslide victory in 1971 that is aimed against mass struggles. Parts of it have been

declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

The eastern state of Bihar is at present a boiling cauldron. The students there openly credit the Gujarati students with having inspired their demonstrations.

According to the March 18 *Times of India*, the students have taken over management of some leading educational institutions, including Rajendra Agricultural University in North Bihar and the B.N. College at Patna. Students are reported to have filled the higher posts in the universities from their own ranks.

The Gandhi government sent in troops to help the special police forces. "Shoot at sight" orders were issued in various places. Home Minister Ditt, after touring the trouble-ridden state, said these were "fascist" attempts to stifle democracy.

At a March 21 meeting of the Academic Council of Jawaharlal Nehru University, the two student representatives in the twenty-five-member body, Karat Prakash and Romesh Dixit, said that they rejected the university and its kind of education, with its perspective of unemployment. They called for a basic socioeconomic upheaval.

In Madhya Pradesh, students of Ravishanker University have threatened to boycott examinations if local people are not given jobs.

The massive student agitation against the present socioeconomic system in Gujarat was triggered by a steep rise in food costs in college hostels.

A survey of about 400 students residing in fourteen hostels at Ahmedabad, carried out by the well-known Gujarati economist Dr. Jitendra Dholakia, showed that 52% of the students coming from middle-class families in the income group ranging from 300 to 600 rupees [US\$1 = about 8.75 rupees] a month skipped a meal a day because of the high cost. About 37% of the students had gone into debt to cover expenses. Around 27% had to borrow regularly.

The average student debt for mess charges was estimated at 30-35 rupees a month during 1972 and 1973.

Dr. Dholakia reported that 78% of the students believed that responsibility for the boost in prices rested with hoarders, speculators, traders, and the state government.

The leap in prices is unprecedented in recent Indian history. The index of wholesale prices, taking the 1961-62 level as a base of 100, stood at 218.4 at the end of the last fiscal year (March 1973). At the end of March 1974, it will top 275, a rise of more than 25% as against a rise of 11.8% in the corresponding period of 1972-73.



According to data provided by the *Economic and Political Weekly*, between March 1972 and February 2, 1974, the wholesale price index rose by 41.5%, the index for food articles showing a rise of 45.1% and that for industrial raw materials 80.2%.

During the same two-year period, prices of manufactured goods rose by 29.5%, those of machinery and transport equipment by 17.9%, and chemicals 10.1%. The prices of intermediate products rose by 46.1%.

In the lead article in its Annual Number of 1974 the *Economic and Political Weekly*, which is an influential publication, admitted that there have been phenomenal pressures on the cost of living that have not been reflected in the official price index.

At the end of last year, the All-India Consumer Price Index for the working class stood at 260 as compared to 210 in December 1972. That is a rise of nearly 24%.

In contrast to the rise in prices, production—especially industrial production—has stagnated. In fact, for the past two years it has declined by

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Indian troops at work in New Delhi. '... the government is resorting to coercion and the use of the army against legitimate struggles of the people.'

Rail workers defy Gandhi gov't; prepare nationwide strike

[The following article was written before May 2. On that day the Indian government arrested 700 union leaders in an attempt to stop the threatened rail strike by nearly two million workers. Reuters reported that a total of 2,000 unionists had been arrested by May 3.

[V.R. Mhalgi, a Bombay unionist, died of a heart attack soon after being arrested. The unions broke off talks with the government, and workers walked out in Bombay, Bhopal, Lucknow, Ahmedabad, Patna, and several other key rail centers. The May 4 *New York Times* reported workers blocking the tracks at Baroda and

Jhansi as well.

[Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, vowing to keep the trains moving, has ordered army reservists to stand by to take the railways over. According to the May 4 *Times*, "The Government warned that the workers who struck would be dismissed unless they went back on the job at once. Through newspaper advertisements, the Railway Ministry invited retired rail workers—engineers, signalmen, guards, others—to return to active duty. The ministry also offered inducements to 'loyal railwaymen,' such as pay increases, rapid promotions and 'special recognition.'"

[In the meantime, union leaders are

calling for stepped up preparations for the nationwide strike scheduled for May 8.]

By Sharad Jhaveri

Jamnagar, Gujarat

The coordinating committee of the major national railway workers unions has called for an indefinite general strike beginning May 8. If the strike—which would be the first such general strike since 1960—materialises, it will paralyse the economy, cripple transport, and lead to a direct confrontation with the government.

In view of the political implications of a strike, the government is still holding parleys with the leaders of the committee in an effort to avert one. The political committee of the central cabinet is regularly reviewing the situation. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who has denounced the strike call as "antinational," has appointed the deputy railway minister, M. S. Qureshi, to head a negotiating committee. Discussions with the leaders of the coordinating committee have already started.

The railway workers have put forward eight demands, most of them

Continued on page WO 4

Detente coming to the Caribbean?

Washington relaxes embargo on trade

By Gerry Foley

When Washington permitted sales to Cuba in March and April by affiliates of U. S. companies in Canada and Argentina, it seemed in effect, despite claims to the contrary, to be moving toward dropping the trade embargo against the Castro regime. Influential elements in the U. S. government and in the ruling class were quick to press for following the logic of these decisions.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously April 23 to introduce a resolution into Congress recommending that the president formally end the embargo and resume diplomatic relations with Cuba.

On the previous day, Representative Whalen of Ohio introduced a bill in the lower house of Congress that called for an end to the embargo on trade with Cuba except in the case of military equipment. After pointing to the February 1973 hijacking accord between Washington and Havana, Whalen said:

"This year there have been further encouraging developments. It is reported that Soviet General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev, when visiting Havana in January, urged Premier Castro to soften his posture toward the United States. Indeed, the joint Cuba-Soviet Declaration of February 2, 1974, which Castro and Brezhnev signed, states:

"Cuba and the Soviet Union declare themselves in favor of the full validity of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and the renouncing of the use of force and the threat of using it in relations among the nations of Latin America, as well as in other areas of the world."

That is, Whalen clearly thought that the Kremlin chief's visit to Cuba at the end of January, and the statements he made there, as well as the Soviet-Cuban communiqué of February 2, meant that Havana had been definitively brought behind the policy of "peaceful coexistence," under the firm control of the Soviet Union.

Whalen then noted as "significant announcements" the U. S. government's decision to lift the ban against the sale of trucks and automobiles to Cuba by American-owned companies in Argentina, and the decision of the hemisphere foreign ministers meeting in Atlanta to "explore the possibility of inviting Cuba to their next meeting in Buenos Aires in March 1975."

Capitalists Differ

The State Department's declarations that the Argentine case was an exception and did not mean abandoning the embargo came in for heavy fire from the most internationally minded and farsighted organs of the American capitalist press.

In an editorial April 22, the *Washington Post* said:

"It is now pretty clear from soundings at meetings of the OAS [Organization of American States] in recent days, that at least a simple majority—if not the necessary two-thirds—of its members is ready to lift or relax the organization's trade restrictions



Castro during Bay of Pigs invasion. Washington sponsored counterrevolutionary assault after failing to bring down Castro government by economic blockade. Signs are that it now considers Cuban government housebroken.

with Cuba. The grave threat from Fidel Castro that was thought to exist in the 1960s no longer looks so terribly menacing. The sensible course of American diplomacy, it seems to us, would be to take the lead in acknowledging this reality, just as this country took the lead in imposing the embargo itself."

The editorial explained that if the United States tried to maintain the principle of the blockade, while at the same time making exceptions under pressure, it would double its political losses. It was neither possible nor desirable to delay the inevitable abandonment of the embargo.

The most authoritative of the American capitalist papers, the *New York Times*, noted in an editorial April 24 that the U. S. government did face some embarrassment in shifting its policy toward Cuba. But, it stressed, it did not think it was wise to protest too much.

"No one expects the United States to lead a drive for repeal of the sanctions. What many of the 23 O. A. S. members—and a great many Americans—had been hoping for was simply an expression that this country had no objection to reviewing the policy of excluding Cuba. Secretary Kissinger marred an otherwise positive contribution to the moderately successful 'new dialogue' he has launched with the other American states by his silence at Atlanta on this important question."

The *Times*, thus, expected Washington to drag its feet, as far as its public positions were concerned, and let the Latin American "national" bourgeoisies take the lead. This had the obvious advantage of saving the appearance of the "principles" that Washington had trumpeted so often in the past, and at the same time of giving the weak Latin American bourgeois governments some much needed "nationalist" luster. The *Times*, however, apparently thought the Nixon administration was making rather too much of a show of reluctance. The *Washington Post*, in its April 22 edi-

torial, was more explicit:

"Cuba has become another example of the present peculiar phase of Mr. Nixon's ideological politics. Having made large and desirable changes in American policy, he preserves a few small remnants of the old customs as an attempt to offer symbolic reassurance to that part of his constituency which takes ideology seriously. It serves the national interest, according to the current definition, to trade with the Soviet Union and China but, in contrast, Cuba is a Communist country committed to world revolution. Therefore it is a manifest menace to international stability."

Watergate Maneuver?

In other words, the bourgeois liberal daily saw Nixon's apparent hesitations about including Cuba in the détente simply as a device to maintain the reactionary rightist constituency that in the post-Watergate period in particular provides the bulk of his public support.

Despite the public hemming and hawing of the Nixon administration, the Latin American "nationalist" bourgeois regimes moved enthusiastically to play the role the *New York Times* evidently expected them to play.

"The Argentine Republic opened the doors yesterday for Cuba's return to the Latin American community," the Buenos Aires daily *La Opinión* wrote in a headline in its April 19 issue. It ran the full text of the memorandum presented by the Argentine minister Vignes to the conference of hemispheric foreign ministers in Atlanta.

The Venezuelan government, one of whose predecessors had made the motion for expelling Cuba from the OAS in 1962, apparently concurred with the fifth point of the Vignes memorandum:

"The government of President Carlos Andrés Pérez, according to Schacht [the foreign minister], believed that when they were applied, the sanctions were justified and that the procedure was

correct," the Buenos Aires paper *La Nación* reported in its April 22 weekly airmail edition, "but that in the ten years that have passed since then the situation has changed substantially."

The motion to invite Cuba to the 1975 conference of ministers in Argentina was made by Mexico, whose government has served for a decade and a half as Washington's unofficial channel of communication to Havana.

The overtures to Cuba had the explicit backing of Mexico's President Echeverría, a not very independent-minded "friend of the United States."

In a dispatch from Mexico City March 30, *New York Times* correspondent Alan Riding analyzed the objectives of both the Mexican and Cuban governments in these negotiations:

"Both Mexico and Cuba, however, appear to have clear though unrelated political motives for wanting to strengthen their ties. Since the overthrow of President Salvador Allende Gossens in Chile last September, Mr. Castro has reportedly wished to shore up his relations with other friends on the continent. Mexico, on the other hand, wants to obtain Cuban support for her diplomatic offensive in the third world.

"Within Latin America, Cuba is a key symbol," one diplomat said. 'To be accepted as a third-world leader, President Echeverría clearly needs the blessing of Premier Castro.'"

The "blessing" of the Castro regime has had obvious advantages for a government such as the demagogic and repressive Peruvian junta of General Juan Velasco Alvarado. With the aura provided by Fidel's endorsement, Velasco has been able to rally well-known leftist figures in Peru to his government despite its brutal suppression of strikes, union organizing, and the right of expression for the left groups themselves.

In the aftermath of the military coup in Chile, Fidel went so far as to assure the Peruvian and Latin American left as a whole that there was no reason to suspect the revolutionary

with Cuba in wake of Brezhnev visit

commitment of the Velasco junta:

"Contrary to the Chilean Army, the Peruvian Army made it possible for men from the most downtrodden sectors of the population to enter military schools, and the class composition of the Peruvian Army is different from that of the Chilean Army. This factor facilitated the work of some leading commanders and officers who, headed by General Velasco Alvarado (*applause*), led the Armed Forces of Peru to unity with the people and to progressive positions, in opposition to the oligarchy. The example of Peru had great repercussions in Latin America.

"Imperialism is seeking to offset the example of the Peruvian Armed Forces. . . .

"Now, we aren't concerned about the ideological differences between the movements in Argentina and Peru and the Cuban Revolution."

In this speech on September 20 in the Plaza de la Revolución, Castro did stress the importance of a consistent political approach. "Marxism-Leninism, socialism, means political definition. (*applause*.) It means having a guide, a north star, a compass; it means knowing what steps must be taken along the revolutionary path." (*Granma*, English edition, October 7, 1973.)

Whatever Castro's conception of revolutionary strategy at this point, it apparently did not include telling the truth to the Cuban or Latin American workers, or relying on their struggles to defend the island against imperialism. At this point, at least, his strategy seems to revolve around holding Soviet support, no matter what political price he has to pay.

Stalinist Credibility Low

The weak and treacherous national bourgeois regimes in Latin America are not the only governments that need some reflected revolutionary or anti-imperialist luster. The line of the Kremlin and the local pro-Moscow parties toward anti-imperialist struggles badly needs some renewed credibility. The strategy of supporting "national bourgeois" revolutions as a "first stage" in the struggle for socialism—in fact unconditionally supporting any bourgeois politician or military strongman who might be willing to make some kind of a deal with the Soviet Union—has taken a bad beating in the postwar period. Some of the hardest blows in fact were dealt by the Cuban revolutionary leadership itself in the earlier days.

For the first ten years or so of its existence, the Castro regime did try to defend the revolution by extending it. But its strategy of trying to initiate revolutionary process through the action of small rural and urban guerrilla groups proved notably unsuccessful.

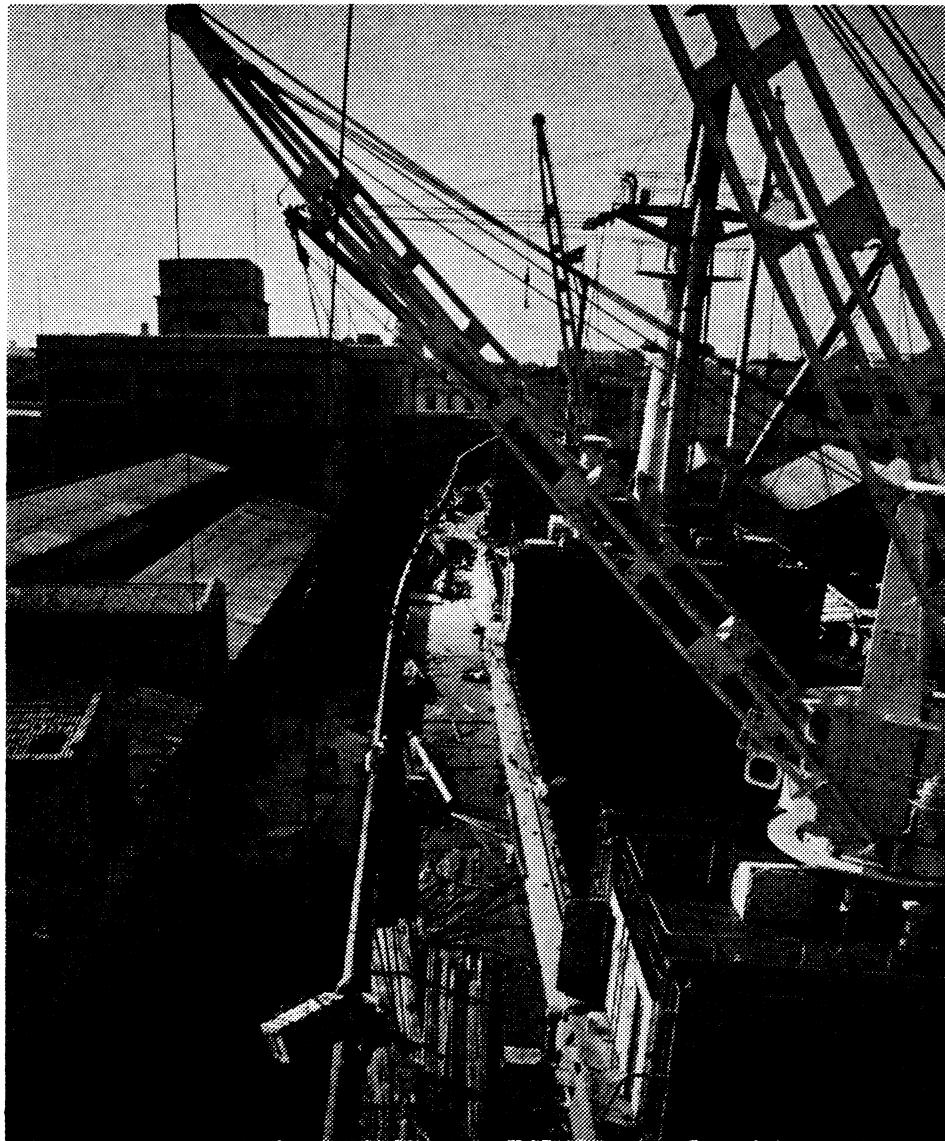
When the Allende government came to power in Chile in 1970, the Cuban regime seemed to center its hopes on the "Chilean process." The crushing defeat of the Chilean workers in the week of September 11-18, 1973, was a heavy blow to the Cubans' perspective for breaking the imperialist encirclement.

Since the fall of Allende, the strategy of the pro-Moscow CPs in Latin Amer-

ica has come to center around the Peruvian and Argentine models, on the theory that a purely "nationalist" process that does not threaten the social status quo or move "too quickly" against imperialism can achieve reforms without provoking a military coup. There is no indication that the Cuban leadership has an alternative to this policy.

In his speech in the Plaza de la Revolución on July 26, 1971, Fidel said:

"But life teaches us that an impossible thing—or a thing that seems impossible—is often possible in the realities of life. It is possible especially when the peoples are armed with ideas, when revolutionary ideas are taken up by the masses. Then all those things that had seemed impossible became possible."



Soviet ship unloads in Havana. Soviet bureaucrats demand 'adulthood' in return for aid—that is, support to their counterrevolutionary foreign policy.

However, the Castro leadership, despite its success in establishing the first workers state in Latin America, has not been able to find a way to take revolutionary ideas effectively to the masses. As a result it has had to become more and more passively dependent on Soviet material aid, at the expense of revolutionary ideas and of truth in general. This process culminated in Brezhnev's visit to Cuba at the end of January.

In his speech in the Plaza de la Revolución, the Soviet Union's counterrevolutionary Stalinist party boss made it absolutely clear what he wanted:

"The Cuban Revolution is now fifteen years old. That is in a way no short period. That is why, when it comes to the new regime in Cuba,

I believe that less should be said about youth and more about adulthood. . . .

"The Soviet Union has always considered inadmissible—in fact, criminal—any attempt to 'export counter-revolution,' any outside interference aimed at crushing the sovereign will of a revolutionary people. Likewise, communists are not in favor of 'exporting revolution.' Revolution matures on the internal field of one or another country. How and when it surges forth, what forms and methods are employed to bring it about, concern only that country."

The Stalinist dictator devoted the middle part of his speech to explaining the disarmament agreements with the United States. He pointed out:

"But the concept of peaceful coexistence isn't just limited to acknowledging that war is no longer useful

tro made a complete and humiliating political capitulation to the Soviet bureaucracy.

Speaking to the crowd in the Plaza de la Revolución, Castro threw his prestige into the breach to defend the Soviet Union against attacks from the left:

"There are also pseudoleftists and renegades of the revolutionary movement who, adopting alleged Marxist positions, miserably betray proletarian internationalism and serve the interests of imperialism." (*Hiss*es.)

In the joint communiqué, Cuba was forced to subscribe to practically every point of Moscow's current foreign policy. It endorsed the Soviet Union's Middle East line of guaranteed "security" for all "peoples and states" in the region, including the Zionist settler state.

Lining Up On Maoism

In particular, the Cubans were forced to line up with the Kremlin's campaign against Maoist China:

"Both Parties are irreconcilable with revisionism—of the right as well as the left—and with the hegemonic and chauvinist trends that contradict the international line collectively outlined by the Communist and Workers Parties."

There was even an indication that Cuba risked being drawn into a military alliance against the world's second-strongest workers state:

"The Cuban leader supported the Soviet proposal for a system of collective security in Asia," a *New York Times* correspondent cabled from Moscow February 4, "an initiative that Peking itself has said was directed against China." It is to be hoped that Havana will deny that inference.

The communiqué even committed the Cuban government to supporting the "proposals made by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with a view to that country's democratic and peaceful reunification."

It seems clear, then, why the moves to "bring Cuba back into the inter-American community" escalated after Brezhnev's visit. The public humiliation of the Castro regime was the necessary demonstration that Havana had definitely subordinated itself to the strategy of "peaceful coexistence."

The triumphant editorial in the April 5 *Izvestia*, in the commentary column, made this absolutely clear:

"There is no question that the visit of L.I. Brezhnev promoted the further growth of Cuba's international prestige. The attempt to develop new interstate relations and cooperation that would strengthen national independence and the unity first of all of the northern Latin American countries is winning more and more supporters. Despite the efforts of the imperialists, Cuba is beginning to take part in this process on a basis of equality. . . .

"A brief look at the list of foreign guests in Cuba recently says a lot: Two Peruvian government delegations, representatives of the Panamanian Ministry of Economic Development, more than two hundred Argentine businessmen accompanying a government delegation headed by the minister of commerce."

in solving disputes among nations, especially between the two social systems. In our day, the conviction that an active and fruitful collaboration among all nations is necessary becomes stronger with time."

Brezhnev made it clear that Soviet aid to Cuba was within the context of the peaceful coexistence policy.

"It is well known that the Soviet Union gives aid to Cuba for strengthening its national defense. We know very well that Soviet arms in Cuban hands aren't for attacking anyone or for worsening the international situation. They serve the just cause of defending the revolutionary conquests of the country, the cause of peace and tranquility." (*Applause*.)

In his speech and in the Soviet-Cuban communiqué of February 2, Cas-

...India: skyrocketing prices, mass struggles

Continued from page WO1

about 7.5%. This does not take into account the latest declines ascribable to shortages in power, coal, steel, and transport.

Savings and investments in the public sector, which create the necessary infrastructure for the development of private capitalism in this backward country, have been phenomenally low. There has been a corresponding increase in the unproductive deployment of resources available to the government. From 59.4% of the total expenditures made by the Central Government in 1965-66, developmental expenditures declined to 46.6% in 1971-72. They are not likely to go beyond 47% in the current year.

In the three years since 1971-72, national income has risen by hardly more than 7% whereas the money supply has been expanded by 54%.

In this context, the government's failure with respect to the system of public distribution, especially fair distribution of basic commodities, has proved very harmful to workers and to lower-bracket middle-class families with fixed incomes. It has been a boon to traders, rich farmers, and speculators.

The failure to meet the target of procurement of food grains from the 1972-73 crop is a byword in India. As against a target of 4 million tons of rice, only 2.7 million tons were procured.

In the case of wheat, against the original target of 8.1 million tons (which was later reduced to 6 million tons), only about 4.5 million tons were procured.

In the 1973-74 season, the production of rice was estimated at a record 45 million tons. Yet the government is not hopeful of procuring even 5 million tons. The maximum it expects is 2.9 million tons. It is worth

noting in passing that this procurement target was reached in all three years 1969-70, 1970-71, and 1971-72, when the output was considerably lower.

The Indian bourgeoisie is aware of the explosiveness of the present crisis it faces. But its representatives differ as to how to meet it.

J.R.D. Tata, an elder statesman of the Indian bourgeoisie, in addressing the annual general meeting of the largest and most modern steel company in the private sector, called for increased production at any cost as the road to salvation.

President V.V. Giri appealed in his Independence Day message for increased production. He entreated the capitalists not to declare lockouts and enjoined the workers not to go on strike for at least three years. The government is in fact actively trying to work out a practical scheme for an industrial truce, counting in this on the collaboration of the reformist bureaucratic leadership of the central trade unions.

At first Indira Gandhi kept quiet. Later she advanced various reasons for the economic malaise, pointing to the refugee problem, the war with Pakistan, the years of drought, international inflation, etc. Lately she has pointed to the oil crisis.

The trouble is that the people are in no mood to listen to excuses that are unconvincing. During the Bangladesh crisis, the price situation was not as bad as now. Even during the last drought year it was possible to get basic commodities from the public distribution system. Today, despite bumper harvests, people do not get enough food to sustain them even at the exorbitant prices prevalent in cities like Bombay.

Gandhi and others are beseeching the bourgeoisie to behave more prop-



Demonstration against food shortages in India

erly, to make less profits, to sell food to the government. Government officials also threaten to use the Defense of India Act, the Essential Commodities Act, and MISA against traders and hoarders. These measures are occasionally applied demonstratively in flagrant cases.

On the other hand, the government is resorting to coercion and the use of the army against legitimate struggles of the people.

The ongoing struggles have bypassed the traditional leaderships. Students are in the vanguard. As a class force, however, the workers have not yet been drawn in. Nor have the struggles been coordinated and generalized. They have not assumed an all-India character. Up to now the government and the traditional bureaucratic leaderships of the organized working class have succeeded

in keeping the workers insulated from the students. This has been markedly true in Gujarat.

What is badly needed at present is effective propagation of a series of transitional demands such as a sliding scale of wages. The defense of democratic rights and a struggle for the repeal of draconian laws are very much in order, as are efforts to foster fraternization with the rank and file of the army, closer relations between students and workers, the creation of permanent committees of workers and students, etc.

According to the Annual Number 1974 of the *Economic and Political Weekly*, the government, faced with mass discontent in varying degrees of organization, will become more and more authoritarian. It is necessary to fight against this trend in the most vigorous way.

...rail strike

Continued from page WO1

economic. They call for recognition as industrial workers, with an eight-hour day. They also call for job evaluation with a minimum wage based on need. Until such evaluation is carried out, the railway workers demand that they be treated on a par with other workers in the public industrial sector and be paid the same wages now paid to such workers.

To fight inflation, they demand that the dearness allowance be linked with the cost-of-living index and that it be automatically increased every six months, commensurate with the increase in prices. They have also raised a demand for payment of bonuses for 1971-72 and 1972-73.

The demands of the railway workers are legitimate, but the labour minister who brought the government and representatives of the workers to the negotiating table turned down the demands, apparently on the ground that railways are a public utility and not

a profit-making organization.

The Third Pay Commission had fixed railway workers' minimum wage at 196 rupees [approximately US\$25.00] a month. But with the present rate of inflation, a standard family of five can hardly get by for even fifteen



INDIRA GANDHI: Vowed to keep trains moving at all costs, ordered arrest of 2,000 union leaders, threatened to mobilize army reserves.

days with such a paltry sum. To maintain a family of that size, a railway worker is currently estimated to need at least 333 rupees a month.

This scale of wages is inequitable. Other fourth-class employees in the public industrial sector get 300 to 318 rupees a month. In the case of the Life Insurance Corporation of India, the government has conceded a wage of 404 rupees to peons [lowest-paid office workers]. Thus, even the *Economic Times* was constrained to admit in a lead article April 14 that such disparities in pay, which are unrelated to any sound norms of job evaluation, are indefensible.

Although negotiations are continuing, the coordinating committee instructed the various unions to serve the government a fourteen-day strike notice April 23, the strike being set to begin May 8. George Fernandez, president of the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, said in Jaipur April 17 that if the government is "determined to force a confrontation on us, we are today prepared to face it. If it is hoping to break us after having forced us into action," he said, "I can only say that it is living in a fool's paradise."

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...fight against racism in District 1 schools

Continued from page 28

source of some of these conflicts is the way government-financed anti-poverty programs often pit oppressed minorities against each other in the scramble for crumbs.

Despite these obstacles, one of the factors that has facilitated unity is that each minority participates with its own organizations in the various coalitions that have been established during the five-year struggle.

This has made it possible for each group, especially Blacks and Chinese, who have a smaller proportion of the district's public school population, to be in a stronger position to look out for their interests. Fourteen percent of District 1's students are Blacks, 6 percent are Chinese, and 73 percent are Puerto Ricans.

The most important factor, however, is the obvious need to bring together as many forces as possible against those who oppose community control, particularly the well-financed and powerful UFT bureaucracy. The unity achieved so far is a significant accomplishment that should be deepened.

Another way the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese leadership of the struggle has increased the number of fighters on its side is by accepting help and participation from all who are willing to support its goals. This policy of nonexclusion has served to draw in many additional activists and to broaden support for the struggle.

Related to this policy is the approach the community fighters have taken to win new supporters, not only in the district but throughout the city. Shanker reigns over an organization that is a powerful political force in both Albany and city hall. He publishes a weekly column in the Sunday *New York Times*, in the form of a paid advertisement, where he often slanders the parents struggling in District 1.

To counter this and avoid isolation, speaking engagements at community meetings and campuses throughout the city have been organized for Fuentes and other representatives of the struggle. News conferences are held to answer lies and explain the truth about the parents' goals. This policy has had its most successful results to date in the present election campaign, in which more support has been won than any time previously.

The central thrust of the actions carried out by the pro-community-control forces, from picket lines to door-to-door canvassing, is designed to convince people who are not yet convinced and win them to the struggle. This attempt to win mass support exerts the greatest pressure on the opponents of community control.

A strong feature of the parents' activity is that it has not been confined to only one or two methods of struggle. Direct action such as picket lines, rallies, demonstrations, marches, and mobilizations at school board meetings have been utilized.

Court suits against illegal and undemocratic moves by the city administration, the board of education, and the UFT leadership have been employed. And the school board elections have been used to publicize and win new supporters to the struggle and to win a majority on the board.

Most important of these forms of struggle is direct action. When the courts have stalled or ruled against the parents, it was marches and rallies that helped put pressure on them. When the Shankerites have had a majority on the board, as they have most of the time since 1970, parents have

defended their interests with large mobilizations and picket lines at open school board meetings.

Another aspect of the struggle in District 1 that activists in other oppressed communities will want to particularly note is its independence. By this is meant independence from government-financed agencies and Democratic and Republican clubs.

The coalition raises its own funds and makes its own decisions. Policy decisions are not made on the basis of whether this or that contributor or antipoverty agency will write out a check. Nor are they made on the basis of whether it will help or hurt anyone's political ambitions.

The coalition includes supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates and members of the Nuevo Jibaro Club, a newly formed Puerto Rican Democratic Party organization on the Lower East Side. However, it is not a campaign committee for either party.

Dozens of community struggles have been run off the tracks by Democratic politicians who have subordinated the demands of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Chinese, and Chicanos to their own political purposes.

Struggles have been squeezed dry of their militancy, determination, and self-confidence by hucksters in government agencies who snatch away funds when things seem to be getting out of their control. That these traps have been avoided by the leaders of the District 1 fight is key to the gains that have been won so far.

One final point that is seldom mentioned in most news reports and analyses of the District 1 struggle, but is very evident to those involved in it, is the role of women in the leadership.

The overwhelming majority of parent leaders are women. And as a result of their activity they are developing self-confidence as organizers and speakers. Some are sympathetic to the women's liberation movement and have spoken at conferences and meetings on women's liberation, including International Women's Day.

This determination of the women fighters comes from a very strong feeling that they do not want their children held back or destroyed by the schools. They, along with their supporters, are fighting against some of the most dehumanizing effects of racial oppression and are using every effective means at their disposal to carry on this struggle.



Militant/Michael Baumann

Mobilizations of community activists at school board meetings have been one effective tactic in District 1 fight.

Readers map plans for bigger sales this week

By ROSE OGDEN

Militant supporters report they sold 8,317 copies of the May 3 *Militant* (front-page headline: "Soaring prices and more layoffs") as part of our drive to sell 10,000 per week. These sales are in addition to *The Militant's* subscription circulation and sales by bookstores, newsstands, and areas not on our weekly scoreboard.

Fifteen areas met or surpassed their goals.

Houston Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters sold 708 copies, well over their goal of 500. They stepped up their sales in order to inform as many people as possible of the socialist alternative to the Democrats and Republicans. One hundred were sold at a rally for Frances Farenthold, who was one of the contenders in the Democratic Party gubernatorial primary.

Supporters in the Central-East Los Angeles SWP and Young Socialist Alliance achieved their goal for the first time this spring. Sales director Byron Ackerman reports that their plans for continuing high sales include increasing sales on Saturday and establishing more regular sales in the Black community.

The May 3 issue sold well at a variety of political activities. Brooklyn supporters report *The Militant* was well known among the Haitians demonstrating at a rally in defense of Haitian refugees, where they sold 161 copies. They report selling another 45 copies at a conference on Puerto Rican history.

Philadelphia, Twin Cities, Chicago, and Central-East L.A. report that *The Militant* was well received at the United Farm Workers meetings and rallies held in their cities.

Ninety were sold at the convention of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in Detroit. In addition, supporters distributed copies of *The Militant's* reprint of the FBI memos on "disrupting" the Black movement.

An early report has come in on sales of the May 10 issue. Cleveland supporters sold nearly 300 *Militants* at a Kent State memorial rally. In addition, 200 *Young Socialists* were sold.

The current issue, dated May 17, has been chosen for a special week of sales to break through our goal of 10,000. Many SWP campaign supporters throughout the country will be exerting extra efforts to sell this issue.

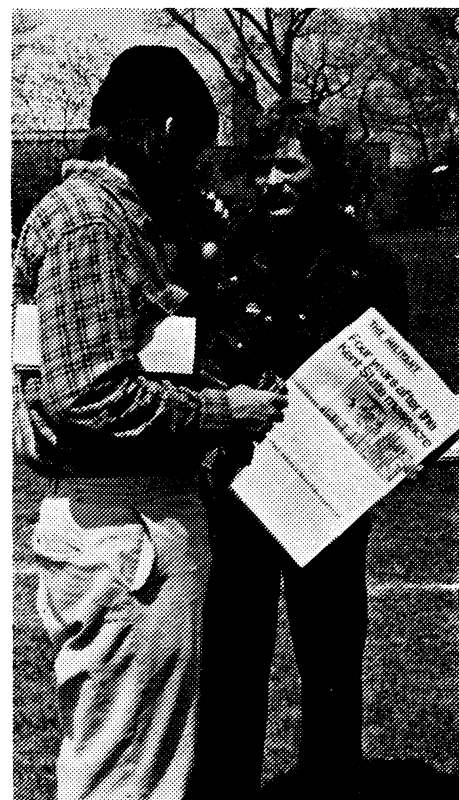
Oakland/Berkeley supporters, for example, have increased their bundle to 1,400.

The Brooklyn, Lower Manhattan, and Upper West Side units of the SWP and YSA in New York have challenged each other to see which can sell the most. All three are beginning the week with bundles of 1,000.

St. Louis has increased its bundle to 600. Chicago pledged to sell 800; and Detroit and Washington, D.C., have set special goals of 500 for this issue.

The Nashville YSA has met its goal each week of the spring sales campaign. In line with the national effort to sell 10,000, they upped their bundle by 100 and aim to sell 180!

Many readers of *The Militant* are participating in our campaign to increase circulation. In addition to sales in the United States, copies of *The Militant* are distributed throughout the world. A reader in Frankfurt, West Germany, recently wrote that he and other supporters were selling *The Militant* to American GIs stationed there. One GI he met was familiar with the



Militant/Janice Cline

Nearly 300 *Militants* were sold at May 4 memorial rally at Kent State in Ohio.

SWP and the YSA and very excited to find a copy of *The Militant*.

Other readers are encouraged to help *The Militant* reach even more people. Simply send in the coupon on page 27 and we will begin sending you a weekly bundle to sell in your city. This week a request for a bundle of 10 came in from a supporter in Johnson City, N.Y.

Scoreboard

	GOAL	LAST WEEK	%
Dallas	10	16	160
Houston	500	708	142
St. Louis	325	386	119
Philadelphia	400	416	104
Washington, D.C.	400	411	103
L.A. (Central-East)	350	352	101
Oakland/Berkeley	800	807	101
Amarillo	5	5	100
Athens, Ga.	35	35	100
Bowling Green, Ohio	50	50	100
Chicago	700	700	100
Columbus, Ohio	20	20	100
Logan	30	30	100
Nashville	70	70	100
Wallingford, Conn.	20	20	100
Detroit	400	372	93
New Paltz	25	23	92
Tucson	50	45	90
Brooklyn	450	402	89
Little Rock	25	22	88
L.A. (West Side)	350	302	86
Portland	325	278	86
Seattle	425	364	86
Albany, N.Y.	20	17	85
Lawrence, Kans.	13	11	85
Amherst	50	40	80
Lower Manhattan	500	381	76
Ossining	25	19	76
Huntsville	15	11	73
Atlanta	500	350	70
Pittsburgh	375	260	69
State College, Pa.	25	17	68
Twin Cities	350	227	65
Milwaukee	25	16	64
Madison	50	30	60
Denver	450	255	57
San Diego	325	176	54
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	475	226	48
San Francisco	525	224	43
Cleveland	350	120	34
Geneseo	5	1	20
Tuscaloosa	10	2	20
Boston	700	100	14
TOTAL SOLD			
LAST WEEK	10,000	8,317	83

Chile & the dead end of

Disaster in Chile: Allende's Strategy and Why It Failed. Edited with introduction by Les Evans. Pathfinder Press. New York, 1974. 272 pp. Cloth \$10, paper \$2.95.

By Caroline Lund

Salvador Allende claimed that the Popular Unity government in Chile would open up a "peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism." The workers movement throughout the world was watching and hoping for revolutionary successes by the Chilean people.

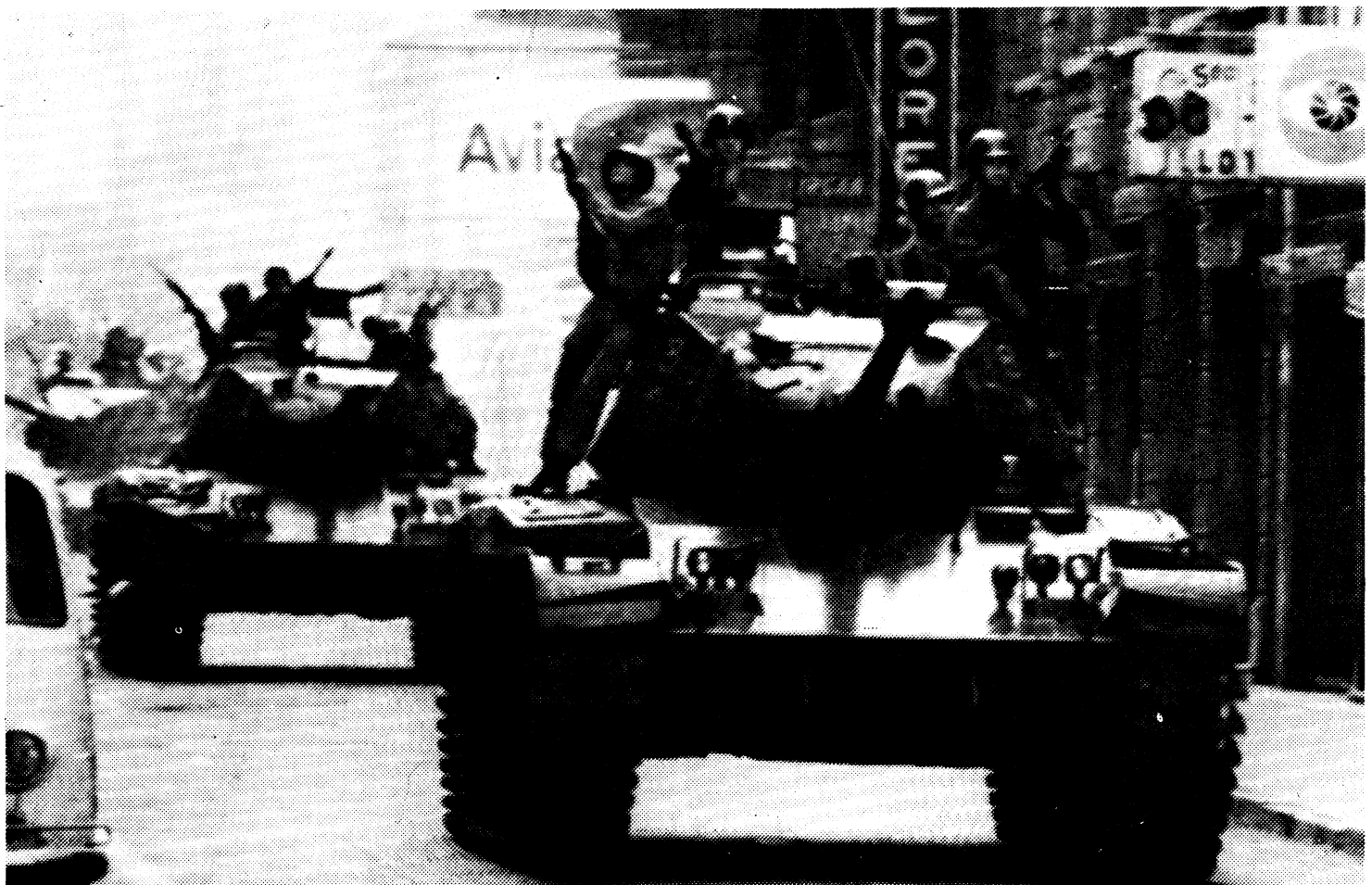
The Communist and Socialist parties, which dominated the Popular Unity coalition, ran the Chilean capitalist government for three years. But their rule was ended in a bloodbath of rightist violence backed by U.S. imperialism. The masses of Chile found themselves politically disarmed and unable to effectively defend themselves from this assault.

What happened to the promised "peaceful road to socialism"? Why couldn't the CP and SP, with so much apparent power, defend the gains made by the masses against the reaction?

Disaster in Chile addresses itself to these questions. It is a collection of articles, essays, and documents from the viewpoint of revolutionary Marxism. Written over the past four years, they provide an analysis of the major developments under the UP government and the rising mobilization of the right wing leading up to the coup.

Included are nine on-the-spot accounts by Hugo Blanco, leader of the Peruvian peasant upsurge in the early 1960s and a leader of the Fourth International, who was living in exile in Santiago.

The success of the rightist coup so undercut the credibility of the Popular Unity strategy that the Chilean



Stalinist popular front strategy left Chilean workers politically disarmed and unable to effectively resist right-wing coup

and representatives to maintain capitalism.

This strategy of coalition governments of workers' and capitalist parties was introduced into the labor movement nearly a century ago by the social-democratic parties of the Second International. During World War I this strategy also took the form of reformist socialists supporting their "own" capitalist governments in the inter-imperialist slaughter.

The Bolshevik Party led by Lenin exposed this false theory and carried through the October 1917 revolution against the coalition government headed by Kerensky.

As the Stalinist bureaucracy usurped power in the Soviet Union, its followers reverted to the discredited practice of the Social Democrats in supporting and entering capitalist governments. This corresponded to the Stalinist theories of "socialism in one country" and "peaceful coexistence"—theories that preached the necessity of adapting to capitalism rather than overthrowing it.

The Stalinists have had some success in foisting their disastrous policy upon the workers movement in Chile and elsewhere by trying to disguise it with the mantle of Lenin and the Russian revolution.

For example, in the statement quoted earlier, Chilean Stalinist Teitelboim tries to equate the CP's participation in Allende's Popular Unity government with the "Leninist teaching on the necessity for the people—legitimate expression of democracy—to take control of the state. . . ."

This is a monstrous lie.

What the Stalinists have done to Lenin on this question is the same as what the opportunist social democrats tried to do to Marx's teachings in the years prior to the Russian revolution.

In his famous pamphlet *State and Revolution*, written in August and September of 1917, Lenin answered the "socialists" in both Germany and Russia who were saying that Marxism did not exclude the participation of socialists in capitalist governments. He wrote this pamphlet because he felt it was necessary to correct sections of the Bolshevik leadership itself, including Stalin, who were bending to pressure from the Mensheviks to compromise with the coalition government.

Just as Lenin, at that time, had to "undertake excavations," as he put it, "to bring uncorrupted Marxism to the knowledge of the masses," so revolutionists today have the task of excavating the revolutionary essence of Leninism and the Russian revolution.

Theory of the state

The experience of Chile under Allende totally confirms the Marxist theory of the state as explained by Lenin in *State and Revolution*. This is documented through the pages of the book *Disaster in Chile*.

First of all, when "socialists" or "communists" join in the administration of a capitalist government, or state, what is it they are joining?

Lenin wrote: "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class domination, an organ of oppression of one class by another; its aim is the creation of 'order' which legalises and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes." (Emphasis in original.)

Therefore any "socialist" who participates in a capitalist government must of necessity participate in, and take responsibility for, this repression of the working class. (We are talking here about participation in ministries or cabinets, the executive apparatus of the state. Revolutionists elected to a congress or parliament can intervene

there to expose the capitalist rulers without taking any responsibility for their antilabor policies.)

Lenin wrote that "even in those ministries which belong to the 'Socialists' (please excuse the term), the whole bureaucratic apparatus remains essentially the same as of old, working as of old, and 'freely' obstructing revolutionary measures."

In Chile this warning took on flesh and blood, as the CP and SP ministers cooperated with the Christian Democrat-controlled congress and the capitalist armed forces in putting a brake on the mobilization and struggles of the masses of workers and peasants.

For example, many peasants, thinking the Popular Unity government would back them, attempted to take over unused land. Confronted by peasants at a public meeting, the "socialist" Allende stated: "We are not in a position to expropriate all landholdings . . . occupations of land pose a threat to property rights."

And CP General Secretary Luis Corvalán declared Feb. 17, 1971, "We do not approve of land occupations because we have an obligation to the country, and because we are going to carry out agricultural development within the limits of the law."

On May 12, 1972, the CP mayor of Concepción ordered troops to fire on a demonstration of Popular Unity supporters protesting a scheduled right-wing mobilization.

Following the truck owners' and capitalists' "bosses' strike" in October 1972, the Popular Unity parties acted to take the factories out of the hands of workers who had taken them over to maintain production. *Disaster in Chile* quotes from a protest by militants in the left wing of the SP who said, "Plants that were closed and locked, plants paralyzed by their owners, are going to be returned. We opened them, we

Books

CP felt forced soon after the coup to respond to pressures for an explanation. Chilean CP spokesman Volodia Teitelboim wrote a statement that was printed in the Oct. 20 issue of the American CP's *Daily World*. He wrote:

"Chile's tragic experiences . . . have given rise to many questions by democrats and progressives all over the world.

"Among the questions being asked is whether the Chilean way maintains its validity."

His answer is: "In our opinion, the conception of a pluralist revolution in the heart of the people, which brings together Marxist, Christian and nationalist forces who are for social change and revolution, maintains its full validity."

What is actually meant by this "pluralist revolution" is no revolution at all. It is a strategy of building coalition governments. That is, a strategy that says working-class parties should join in electoral fronts and governments with capitalist parties

popular front politics

made them produce, we organized their production, we alone, without the bosses and in spite of them. Today they are going to return them."

Thus the experience of Chile demonstrated how joining a capitalist government means crossing class lines. It means taking the side of the capitalist rulers in their attempts to contain the workers' and peasants' resistance to exploitation and oppression.

Standing army

Lenin's second main point in *State and Revolution* is that "a standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power." That is, they are the instrument for enforcing the class oppression.

But, Lenin notes, the rulers try to disguise the function of the army as being "above classes" and serving society as a whole. In Chile the CP and SP, consistent with their support to the capitalist state, actively supported this subterfuge about the army as well.

In an interview published in the Feb. 14, 1971, issue of the Buenos Aires daily *Clarín*, Allende stated, "With each day my conviction becomes deeper that the armed forces of Chile are an expression of its people, and therefore are irrevocably and essentially professional and democratic."

Following the bosses' strike in October, CP leader Corvalán stated, "We all agreed that this is an escalation of sedition, a coup d'état in the making." He then claimed that this "will not bear fruit, because the armed forces are faithful to the law and to the legitimately constituted government."

This talk of "professionalism" is nothing but an echo of the ruling-class lie that the function of the armed forces is to protect the interests of the majority. This so-called "democratic" army, which received \$5-million in military aid from the Nixon administration in 1970, demonstrated once and for all whose interests it upheld through the bloody Sept. 11 coup.

Against the standing army, which is the enforcer of ruling-class oppression, Lenin said the oppressed class needs its own armed force, capable of defending its interests. In contrast to the separate, professional armed bodies created by the exploiters, the form for defense of the interests of the oppressed class is the arming of the masses, the "self-acting armed organization of the population," as Friedrich Engels put it.

Disarmed the masses

In Chile, the CP and SP, consistent with their defense of the capitalist order, told the workers to trust in the capitalist army and actually disarmed the masses.

During the October 1972 bosses' strike it became absolutely clear that the rightists were preparing their offensive. Fascist gangs and other right-wing forces took to the streets in greater and greater numbers. The CP never called on the workers to mobilize against the fascists. Rather, Allende's response to the rightist offensive was to invite three high-ranking military officials into the key posts of his cabinet—as if the army would stop the rightists!

On June 29, 1973, an abortive rightist coup took place, and still the CP and SP did nothing to mobilize and arm the masses. In August, when a group of sailors was arrested and tortured for speaking out against rightist plotters, Allende's government endorsed this repression.

In the weeks before the coup, the military tested the workers' response through selective attacks on factories and poor neighborhoods. Then they struck with massive violence, aiming at beheading the entire leadership of the working-class struggle.

The workers were unprepared and unorganized. In some factories and neighborhoods they resisted heroically with whatever arms they had obtained despite the Popular Unity policy. But they were defeated with heavy casualties.

Not road to socialism

The bloodbath in Chile again demonstrates that the CP strategy of coalition governments is not a strategy

the main copper mines and banks—while progressive, were already part of the program of the Christian Democratic Party, a capitalist party, in 1964.

In order to take office in 1970, the Popular Unity coalition made a deal with the Christian Democrats to make changes in the constitution to strengthen capitalist institutions. Thus, they agreed that no military officers would be appointed who had not been trained in the official military academies; that there would be no change in the size of the armed forces; that "private" militias (meaning workers' or peasants' militias) would be illegal; and that there be no tampering with the press, radio, schools, judiciary, etc.

In a statement put out a month after the September coup, the Chilean CP wrote that "this is not the time to engage in debates about the mistakes committed by the government and the Popular Unity bloc as a whole. . . ."

But to deny the working class the

lution in Catalonia during the course of the civil war.

The same treacherous line has since been carried out all over the world by Stalinists of both Moscow and Peking varieties.

After all these bloody lessons, and while thousands of Chileans are still facing arrests and torture at the hands of the Pinochet junta, the Stalinists in Portugal are now embarking upon the very same policy again.

In the wake of the take-over by General António de Spínola, the Portuguese CP is preparing for a new betrayal with its call for the formation of a coalition government—a capitalist government—in which it would participate along with "all the democratic and liberal political forces and trends."

The long experience of the workers movement shows that the only model of a successful strategy for socialist revolution was that of the Russian Bolsheviks in 1917. This revolution was made *against* the "popular front" government of Kerensky.

The Bolsheviks were the best defenders of Kerensky's government against the attempted coup by rightist general Kornilov—just as revolutionists in Chile were for the defense of Allende against the right. But the Bolsheviks refused to join the coalition government, instead taking their place at the head of the oppressed masses who had to overthrow Kerensky to achieve "bread, peace, and land."

In Chile there was no mass revolutionary party armed with this perspective. The need to build such a party is the central lesson to be drawn from the experiences of the Allende years.

'Solidarity with Chilean people'

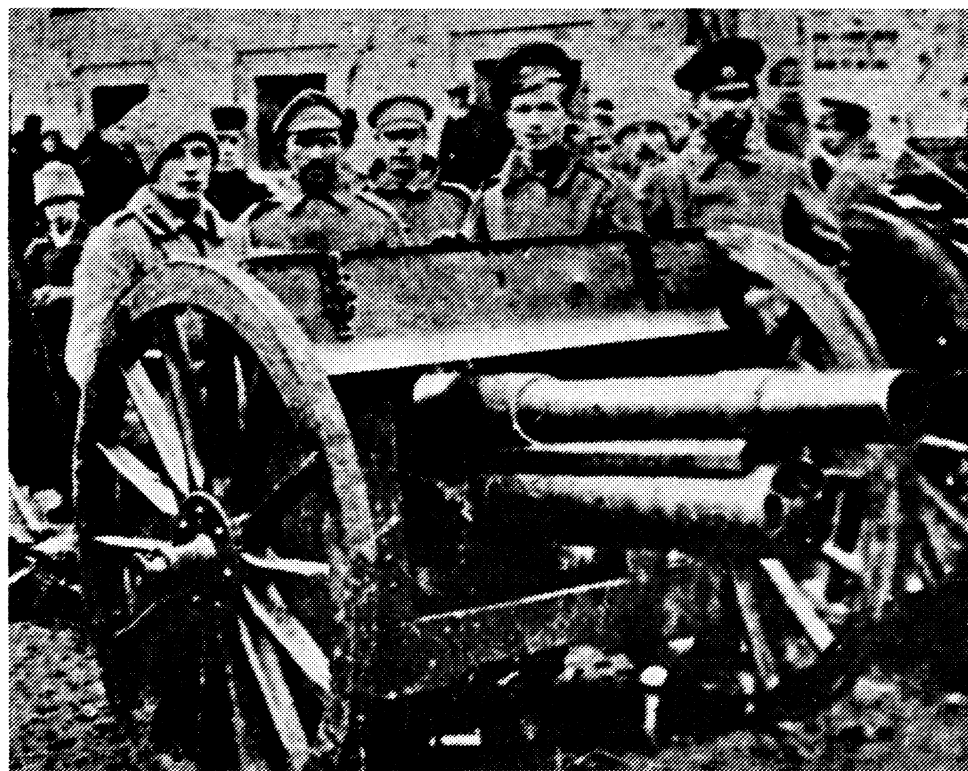
An article and an editorial in the Sept. 29, 1973, *Daily World* attack *The Militant's* coverage of the Chile coup for including criticism of the UP strategy. *Daily World* writer Paul Schiff says, "Some in the U.S., who call themselves 'revolutionaries,' while condemning the coup, appear much more concerned with 'drawing lessons' than with expressing unreserved solidarity with the struggles of the Chilean people."

The article and editorial say that the CP was the main party of the Chilean working class, and therefore to attack it is "pro-imperialist in its consequences" and turns the victim into the culprit.

Yes, the Chilean CP members are victims, and *The Militant* has been waging a weekly campaign to build the defense movement for all of those victimized by the Chile coup.

But the Stalinists are trying to hide behind the bodies of the workers slaughtered in Chile to prevent the exposure of the counterrevolutionary nature of their popular front policy.

The Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Trotskyist movement around the world are attempting to build a new workers leadership based on the revolutionary perspective of Lenin and the Russian revolution. *Disaster in Chile* is a case history of why such a new revolutionary leadership is necessary.



Bolshevik supporters defend Moscow Soviet. Socialist revolution in Russia was carried out against coalition government of Kerensky.

for socialist revolution at all—not even a "stage" along "the road."

The Chilean CP's Popular Unity strategy is the opposite of the revolutionary perspective explained in Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Lenin wrote that the goal of Marxists is "the political rule of the proletariat, of its dictatorship, i.e., of a power shared with none and relying directly upon the armed force of the masses."

The goal of a proletarian power "shared with none" has nothing to do with Teitelboim's goal of a "pluralist revolution."

According to Lenin, those who supported coalition governments in his time held a "bourgeois position," in that "this opportunism limits the field of recognition of the class struggle to the realm of bourgeois relationships."

In Chile, the program of the Popular Unity was strictly limited to "the realm of bourgeois relationships." The major reforms carried out by Allende—land reform and nationalization of

right to learn from its experience means to pave the way for repeated defeats. In fact Marx's main writings on the state, which Lenin draws upon in his *State and Revolution*, stemmed from his attempt to draw the lessons from the crushing of the Paris Commune in 1871.

With the Stalinist parties around the world, however, it is not a matter of learning from mistakes. These parties have a long and bloody record of consciously pushing their class-collaborationist policies in the workers movement. This policy goes by various names—popular or people's front, antimonopoly coalition, "advanced democracy," or the "bloc of four classes," to name some.

One of the first tests of this line was in Spain in the 1930s. There the Popular Front government refused to mobilize the workers against Franco's fascist forces until the last minute. Then, with the help of Stalin and the International Brigades, it succeeded in strangling the near-socialist revo-

Calendar

ATLANTA

A SOCIALIST ANALYSIS OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: 20 YEARS AFTER THE SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION. Speaker: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 17, 8:30 p.m. 68 Peachtree St., Third Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (404) 523-0610.

CHICAGO

THE COUP IN PORTUGAL AND THE STRUGGLE FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION. Speaker: Tony Thomas, staff writer for The Militant. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

CLEVELAND

THE AFRICAN REVOLUTION. Film 'Come Back Africa.' Speaker: Marguerite Snyder, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 21st C.D. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

DENVER

ETHIOPIA: ROOTS OF THE REVOLT. Speakers: Tadesse Mellese, Ethiopian student; Mark Taylor, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

DETROIT

LIBERATION IN GUINEA-BISSAU. 'Modina Boa,' Cuban-produced film. Speaker: Trudy Hawkins, Socialist Workers Party candidate for state board of education. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (313) 831-6135.

HOUSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET TO LAUNCH 1974 BALLOT PETITIONING DRIVE. Speakers: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party; Maceo Dixon, cochairman, SWP 1974 National Campaign Committee; Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor of Texas; others. Sat., May 18, 6 p.m., refreshments; 7 p.m., dinner; 8:30 p.m., program. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: \$5, or \$1.50 for program only. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign Committee. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM IN THE BUILDING TRADES. Speaker: James Haughton, Fight Back. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE COUP IN PORTUGAL: ITS MEANING FOR SOUTH-ERN AFRICA. Speakers: Robert Van Lierop, producer of 'A Luta Continua'; Malik Miah, Young Socialist Alliance; Maino-wa-Kinyathi, Pan-African Student Union. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (near 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, MAY 24-25. Fri., May 24, 7:30 p.m.: The lessons of Chile. Speaker: Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers Party. 155 Dwinelle Hall, UC Berkeley;

Sat., May 25, 11 a.m.: Panels on trade unions and on police repression in the Black community. 2700 Bancroft Way, Berkeley; 5 p.m.: Campaign banquet & program. Speakers: Olga Rodriguez, Dan Styron, Peter Camejo. 1849 University Ave., Berkeley. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (415) 548-0537.

PITTSBURGH

THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE. Speakers: George Van Hook, vice-president, Black Action Society, Univ. of Pittsburgh; Negash Abdurahman, Ethiopian student; Charles Chappel, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 17, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

...France

Continued from page 14

Radicals. The last time the CP played such a role in propping up French capitalism was in 1947. At that time the CP helped the French ruling class disarm the mass Resistance movement, break a strike movement, and defuse a prerevolutionary situation—all in return for their government posts.

Whatever the results of the May 19 runoff, the future is likely to bring continued instability for the divided French ruling class and growing opportunities for revolutionary socialists in France. Neither the Gaullists, the non-Gaullist conservatives, nor the Union of the Left will be able to solve the problems of inflation, unemployment, militarism, racism, the oppression of women, and other ills that stem from the system of capitalism itself.

...printers

Continued from page 11

cil.

Printers reason that the entire structure of old-line AFL craft unions is more seriously threatened in the printing trades than any other industry with the possible exception of the building trades. They hope that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which has a stake in preserving this structure, will intervene to help the printers. Past performance, however, does not show that there is much substance to this hope.

Meanwhile, in Washington, D.C., publishers notified printers that if a 16-day slowdown at the *Post* and job actions at the *Star-News* continue past midnight May 7, all contractual rela-

tions with Columbia Typographical Union Local 101 could be terminated. Negotiations for a new contract have been under way there since last August.

The issues in dispute are the same as in New York. The Washington publishers have installed automated equipment that will significantly reduce the work force.

The publishers say they are willing to provide jobs to all currently employed printers who have regular situations, but they refuse to guarantee present job classifications and corresponding rates of pay. Under such terms, a printer could be reduced to the category of messenger and paid lower wages.

In this respect, the position of the Washington and New York publishers is identical, indicating that they have worked out a common position against the union.

In New York, President Powers reported to printers' chapel meetings shortly before the lockout that union negotiators are prepared to write an "extraordinary" contract giving the publishers unlimited rights to use automation. In return, the union wants "extraordinary" job protection for all printers now employed, those with job situations, and others who work as substitutes.

Total jobs involved are 945 at the *News*, 819 at the *Times*, and 312 at the *Post*. In Washington there are 671 regular printers at the *Post* and 325 at the *Star-News*.

Powers's reference to "extraordinary" job protection appeared to be a weakening of the earlier position of the union, which asserted jurisdiction over all keyboarding of typesetting by the new computerized processes. Present public statements by Powers indicate that Local 6 will be willing to settle if those printers now employed are guaranteed full-time work until retirement, with no reduction in pay.

Technological changes in the printing industry have forced some mergers of craft unions. The lithographers, photoengravers, and bookbinders merged to form the 130,000-member Graphic Arts International Union, an AFL-CIO affiliate. The pressmen and stereotypers-electrotypers merged to form the 122,000-member Printing and Graphic Communications Union, also an AFL-CIO affiliate.

However, these mergers are accommodations among the top officials that have done little to change the craft-

union structure and outlook of the locals.

At the present time, the publishing industry has launched a general open-shop drive, which aims to eliminate all unions in the industry. It is hammering at the doors of the newspaper publishing industry and has smashed the unions in some of the largest newspapers of this country.

The old craft structure is incapable of withstanding this antiunion offensive.

If automation is to result in shorter hours and higher pay for workers—instead of lost jobs—the printing trades need to be united into one industrial union. This is one of the lessons of the present struggle of printers in Washington, D.C., and New York.

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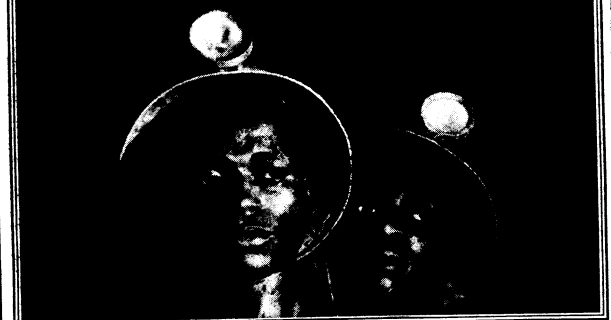
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THE MILITANT

Vote 'Por Los Niños' May 14!

The fight to end racism in New York's Dist. 1 schools

By KATHERINE SOJOURNER

NEW YORK—Parents and community activists in New York City's Lower East Side are winding up several months of intensive campaigning for the Por Los Niños (For the Children) slate in school board elections to be held May 14.

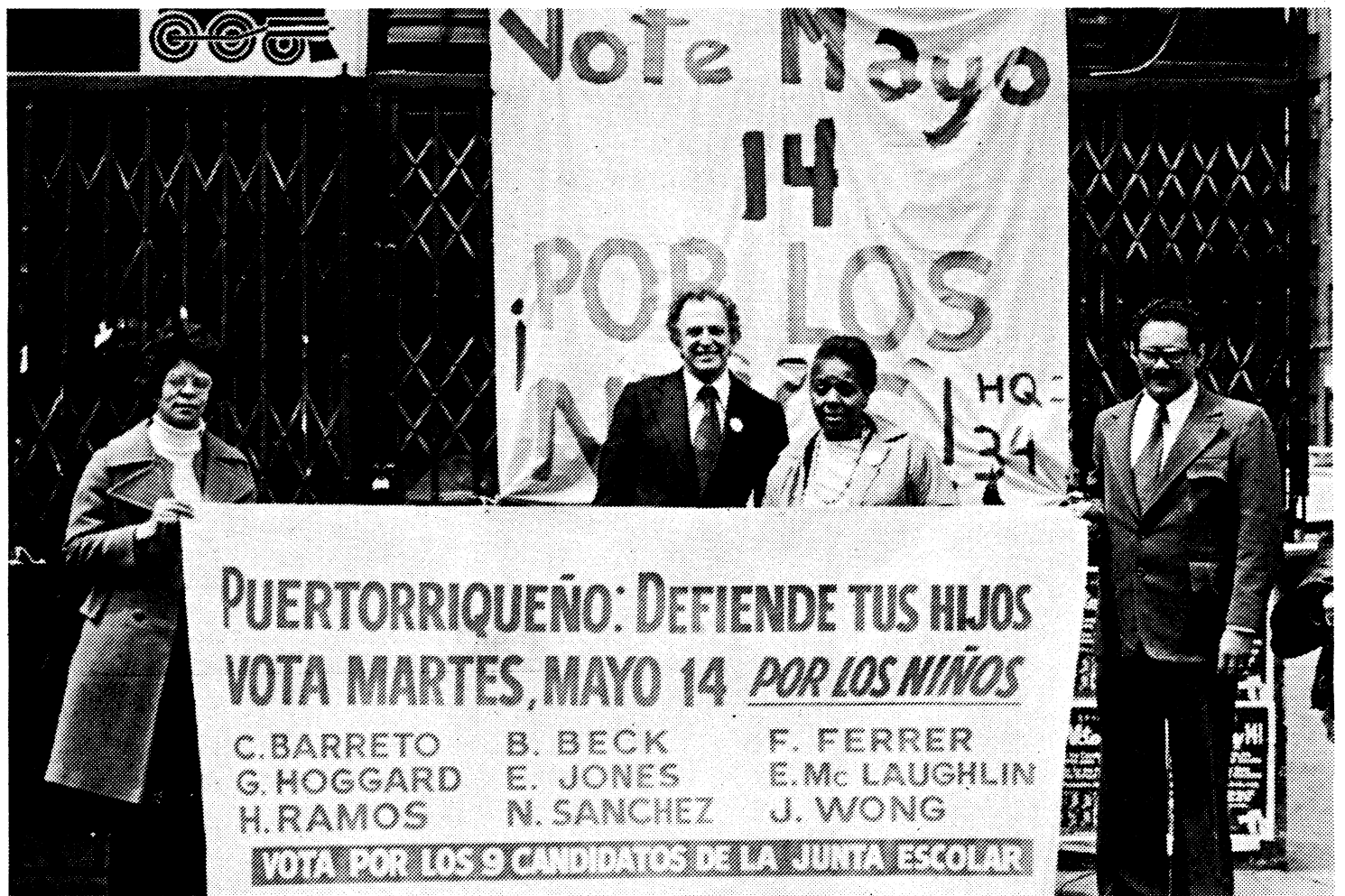
The Por Los Niños ticket is composed of nine men and women—five Puerto Ricans, two Blacks, one Chinese, and one white. Screened and selected by parent organizations, they support the right of the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese communities "to participate in the selection and evaluation of school personnel, use of funds, and selection of curricula and programs."

Opposing this ticket are the candidates promoted by the leadership of the United Federation of Teachers. This predominantly white ticket has made the ouster of District Superintendent Luis Fuentes its central rallying cry. Echoing the slanders of UFT President Albert Shanker that Fuentes is "anti-Semitic" and "racist," they refer to themselves strangely enough as the "Brotherhood" ticket.

This heated electoral contest is the latest chapter in more than five years of struggle by Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents for more say in the direction of the schools in District 1.

It is not certain which side will win a majority in the election. But as Por Los Niños candidate Edwina McLaughlin told the Lower Manhattan Militant Forum on April 18, "We are not thinking about losing on May 14, but if by chance we do, the struggle goes on. We will not tolerate what happened under the old board. These are our children, and their very lives are at stake."

This determination to fight back



Four of the 'Por Los Niños' candidates for District 1 school board: Georgina Hoggard (left), Bertram Beck, Edwina McLaughlin, and Francisco Ferrer. Their platform supports Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese control of education in District 1.

against heavy odds, month after month, has been one of the hallmarks of the struggle in District 1. It has served to make it one of the most significant struggles of oppressed minorities in the country at the present time. And there is a great deal that fighters against racist oppression in

barrios and ghettos all over the country can learn from it.

One important feature of the struggle is that it has focused on specific goals for improving education in the district's schools. These include increased state and federal funds; Black, Chinese, and Puerto Rican control of the schools in the district; and more Spanish-language and Chinese-language programs.

The demand for increased funds is coupled with community control because control without adequate funds cannot significantly improve education. These demands meet stiff resistance from the board of education and the legislature in Albany, whose policy is to cut, rather than increase, assistance for education.

The demand for community control has arisen as the result of many specific issues—from fights to remove racist or incompetent principals to having a say in the kind of food service in the cafeterias.

Community control took an especially concrete form when the procom-

munity school board was in office from mid-1972 to May 1973, and parents began to play more of a role in the process of consultation and decision-making than ever before. For example, Luis Fuentes was hired after screening by parents, teachers, and principals.

Since the pro-Shanker board was elected last May, many struggles have been fought to defend gains won during that period, especially preventing the removal of Fuentes. The popular slogan, "Fuentes Sí, Shanker No," for example, expresses the defense of a decision made with the direct participation of parent organizations.

Another lesson of this struggle is the unity established between the three oppressed minorities fighting for community control of the schools in the district.

This unity between Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and Chinese has not been easily achieved; nor has it ended all frictions between the leaders and organizations of these minorities. The

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City loses suit to delay election

MAY 7—Federal Judge Charles Stewart denied a request today by the city of New York to postpone the May 14 school board election in District 1 and to change the polling sites.

The city, in cooperation with Albert Shanker of the United Federation of Teachers, waged a last-minute fight in court to return polling sites to the predominantly white, middle-income apartment cooperatives where 80 percent of the vote for Shanker-backed candidates in

the 1973 school board elections was cast.

The polling sites for May 14 will be in the 20 public schools in District 1. Parent voters vote in the school their children attend. Regularly registered voters vote in the public school nearest their residence.

For more information on polling sites, call the board of elections at CA 6-2025, or the Por Los Niños campaign headquarters at 673-8322 or 674-8762.

All out for the Por Los Niños slate May 14!

The socialist alternative in '74/15